Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-219 *16 November 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Visegrad Foreign Trade Ministers Meet *[CTK]* 1
Dlouhy: Visegrad Could Lead to Move East *[CTK]* 1
Czech-Slovak-Slovene Accord on Free Trade Zone *[CTK]* 1

ALBANIA

Further on Visit by Greek Foreign Minister 2
Papoulias: 'New Chapter' Opens *[ATA]* 2
Meksi: Dialogue Important *[ATA]* 2
'Successful' Talks Noted *[Athens Radio]* 3
First Russian Minister 'For Many Years' Visits *[ATA]* 3
Zhulali Praises Italian 'Pelican' Aid Operation *[ATA]* 3

BULGARIA

Berov, U.S. Ambassador Discuss FRY Embargo *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Berov Plans Reform; BZNS Demands Resignation *[BTA]* 4
President Criticized for Efforts To Join NATO *[KONTINENT 8 Nov]* 4
BSP Leader Assesses Plenum Debate as 'Useful' *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Cabinet Adopts Decree on Utilizing 1993 Budget *[BTA]* 5
DPS Secretary Oktay Attacks Turkish Party *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Organization Calls For 'Autonomous' Macedonia *[KONTINENT 8 Nov]* 6

CZECH REPUBLIC

U.S. Postpones Transport of Military Equipment *[Prague Radio]* 7
Klaus on Sudeten Germans, Stoiber's Letter *[RUDE PRAVO 10 Nov]* 7
Daily Calls for Intelligence Spokesman *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 12 Nov]* 7
Havel Meets Government Coalition Parties *[CTK]* 8
Havel Warns Against Nationalist Ideology *[CTK]* 8
Havel Praises 'Correct Relations' With Kovac *[CTK]* 8
Kocarnik Comments on Convertibility of Koruna *[CTK]* 9
Government Not To Initiate Bankruptcies *[CTK]* 9
Economy Minister Gives Growth Figures *[Prague Radio]* 9
Economy Minister Cited on Development Factors *[Prague Radio]* 9
Dyba Assesses GDP, Trade, Inflation, Tourism *[CTK]* 10

SLOVAKIA

Kovac Reacts 'With Anger' to Lexa's Statements *[CTK]* 11
KDH: 'Impossible' for Lexa To Stay in Post *[CTK]* 11
HZDS Leadership Backs Meciar Against Kovac *[CTK]* 11
Prosecutor: Government Cannot Inspect President *[CTK]* 12
HZDS Proposes Meciar, Klaus for Nobel Prize *[CTK]* 12
Opposition Criticizes Nomination *[CTK]* 12
Andrejcak Says NATO's Doubts Dispelled *[REPUBLIKA 11 Nov]* 13
NATO Official Praises Changes *[CTK]* 13
Coalition Government Holds First Session *[CTK]* 14
MOS Wants To Form Coalition To Enter Parliament *[CTK]* 14

Jaroslav Volf Elected SDSS Chairman *[CTK]* 14
Bohunice Nuclear Reactor To Be Shut Down *[CTK]* 14
PRC To 'Study' Offer To Use Arms Industry *[REPUBLIKA 11 Nov]* 15
Kovac Says Democratization 'Irreversible' *[Prague Radio]* 15

HUNGARY

Antall Says Hungary Needs Media Law *[MTI]* 16
Goncz Reacts to Letter *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Nov]* 16
Katona Views Media Issue *[NEPSZABADSAG 11 Nov]* 16
TV Official Denies 'Rumors' on Strike *[MTI]* 17
Fur, Slovenia's Jansa Discuss NATO *[MTI]* 18

POLAND

Walesa Says TV Chairman Nomination 'Big Mistake' *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
Walesa Proposes New Constitutional Initiative *[PAP]* 19
Walesa Speaks at Independence Day Ceremony *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 12-14 Nov]* 19
Poll Says Majority Disapprove of Walesa *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 13-14 Nov]* 20
Union of Labor's Nalecz on Party's Role *[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 29 Oct]* 20
Right-Wing Coalition Warns Against Pawlak's Policy *[PAP]* 22
Kwasniewski Backs NATO Membership *[Milan L'ESPRESSO 14 Nov]* 22
Poll Shows Army, Police Most Popular Institutions *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Nov]* 23
KLD Proposes 'Party of Polish Transformations' With UD *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Nov]* 24
Merger Before May 1994 Elections *[PAP]* 24
Wroclaw UD Members Want Mazowiecki's Resignation *[PAP]* 25
Pawlak, EBRD Agree on Continued Cooperation *[PAP]* 25
New Polish Radio Chief Announces Program Changes *[PAP]* 25
Sejm Speaker, Arab Ambassadors Discuss Cooperation *[PAP]* 25
Goods, Services Prices Rise *[PAP]* 26
Pawlak Notes Opportunities for Cooperation With IMF *[PAP]* 26

ROMANIA

Defense Reorganization at 'Important' Stage *[ADEVARUL 3 Nov]* 27
Democratic Party's Roman Seeks New Coalition *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Nov]* 27
PNTCD Expresses View on Admitting Former King *[ROMPRES]* 28
PSM Opposed to Ex-King's Visit *[ROMPRES]* 28
Parliament Heads Receive Kazakhstan Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 28

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Continues Tour, Notes Army's Strength *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Izetbegovic Sees UNPROFOR Failing Mission *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 12 Nov]* 30
Government To File Charges Over Arms Embargo *[TANJUG]* 30
Herceg-Bosna Government Holds First Session *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Army Notes Change in HVO Military Command *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Zenica, Tuzla Remain 'Firmly' Behind Government *[AFP]* 31
Government Expresses Regret Over Priests' Deaths *[Sarajevo Radio]* 32
Western Bosnian Agency Reports on Army 'Dissenters' *[TANJUG]* 32
'Joint Aggressors' Attack Olovo; Helicopters Used *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Serb Offensive Threatens Bosnian Army Supply Lines *[AFP]* 33
6th Corps Confirms Army Holding Fojnica *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Muslim Forces Open Front in Kresevo Area *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Army Withstands HVO Offensive on Gornji Vakuf *[AFP]* 34
HVO Eliminates Muslim Groups Near Gornji Vakuf *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
HVO Reports on Clashes With Muslim Units *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Article Views Balance of Political Power *[GLOBUS 5 Nov]* 35

CROATIA

Karlovac Cease-Fire 'Seems To Be Holding' *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Paspalj Opposes Local Peace Accords *[POLITIKA 9 Nov]* 39
Krajina Chiefs Condemn Seselj's 'Criminal' Behavior *[Belgrade TV]* 40
Croatian Embassy Protests Andreatta's Statement *[Zagreb Radio]* 40
Nuclear Plant 'Stumbling Block' With Slovenia *[VJESNIK 10 Nov]* 41

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbia

Commentary Analyzes Milosevic 'Tirade' *[NEDELJNA BORBA 6-7 Nov]* 42
Kostunica Denounces Sanctions, Discusses Campaign *[TANJUG]* 42
Government Pledges To Assist UNICEF Envoy *[TANJUG]* 43

Macedonia

Government Wins Parliamentary Confidence Vote *[TANJUG]* 43
Georgievski Condemns Government *[TANJUG]* 43
Frckovski Statement on Paramilitary Formations *[MIC 14 Nov]* 44
Minister Claims Prior Knowledge *[MIC 12 Nov]* 44
PDP Official Denies Knowledge *[MIC 14 Nov]* 44
Imeri Reportedly Sought Asylum at German Consulate *[MIC 12 Nov]* 45
Negotiations With Greece Not 'Exhausted' *[MIC 12 Nov]* 45

Montenegro

Oct Inflation Rate Over 2,500 Percent *[TANJUG]* 45

Visegrad Foreign Trade Ministers Meet

AU1611083093 Prague CTK in English 1157 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov 12 (CTK)—The ministers of foreign trade of the Visegrad Countries (Hungary, Slovakia, Poland and the Czech Republic), together with the General Director of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Peter Sutherland started talks in Budapest today.

The Czech Republic is being represented by Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, and the Slovak Republic by Economic Minister Jan Ducky. The ministers are meeting because November 15 is the deadline which the four countries were given by GATT to agree on the chief conditions under which their products and services are to enter the market.

At a press conference today, Dlouhy said that the Czech Republic fully supported a successful end to the Uruguay GATT talks, and the concluding of a relevant agreement. He said that in the last three years the Czech Republic had reformed its economy, and was interested in further developing its foreign trade. It would like to see other countries take a responsible attitude toward this issue.

Ducky also expressed support for the successful end of the Uruguay talks, although they would mean certain temporary problems for certain areas of the Slovak economy. However, he said, Bratislava was looking to the future. He also called for broader cooperation among the Visegrad countries.

Dlouhy: Visegrad Could Lead to Move East

AU1611083293 Prague CTK in English 1324 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov 12 (CTK)—The countries of the Visegrad Four (Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) could move as a whole if they had to, Czech Foreign Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told Czech journalists after talks between the Foreign Trade Ministers of the Visegrad countries ended today.

However, the politicization of Visegrad cooperation could be understood by Western countries as the creation of an Eastern Bloc, which would postpone their integration into Europe indefinitely.

Dlouhy added that today's talks were above all an expression of support for the attempts of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) General Director Peter Sutherland, who also participated in the talks, to end the Uruguay GATT talks successfully. Dlouhy added that the presidents of the Visegrad countries would appeal to those individual state leaders who were able to come to an agreement.

He said that trade cooperation between the Visegrad countries was desirable, and that it would undoubtedly have a long-term positive influence on the economy of the Czech Republic. Dlouhy pointed out that the results of the Uruguay talks, given the Blair House Agreement, could have a short-term negative influence on the Czech economy, especially on agriculture.

Czech-Slovak-Slovene Accord on Free Trade Zone

AU1511214493 Prague CTK in English 1738 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov 13 (CTK)—The trade ministers from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia ended their five-hour talks last night with reaching agreement to create a free trade zone between the Czech-Slovak customs union and Slovenia.

The agreement was struck by Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, Slovak Economics Minister Jan Ducky and Slovenian Minister of Economic Relations and Development Davorin Kracun.

Dlouhy told CTK that the last pending problems concerning trade in cars and white household equipment or refrigerators, freezers and cookers were settled.

Dlouhy also met with Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar to discuss acceleration of building a Central European Free Trade Union.

Dlouhy attended in Budapest a meeting between trade ministers from the Visegrad Four (the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary and Poland) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Director-General Peter Sutherland.

Further on Visit by Greek Foreign Minister

Papoulias: 'New Chapter' Opens

AU1611115293 Tirana ATA in English 0911 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—In his meeting today with the Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias, Albanian President Berisha said that, "I have welcomed your visit to Albania in the context of your Balkan tour, first, because I have always appreciated your special contribution to the relations between our two peoples and countries. And I am convinced that your contribution is appreciated by all the Albanians and Greeks who want understanding, peace and stability.

I have welcomed your visit also for the fact that we consider the dialogue for solving problems as very important and, we insist that understanding and cooperation among the democratic forces and countries in the Balkans is an indisputable priority of our policy. In this relation, we think that good and correct relations between Albania and Greece will influence positively and benefit both the two countries and the whole region. Good and correct relations will show that it is not alliances on religious bases, but dialogue, understanding, cooperation and mutual respect for the country's sovereignty and integrity are of extraordinary importance for peace and stability. Precisely in this way will our two countries be able, under these difficult moments for our ancient peninsula, to assume the great responsibility they have before their peoples, the countries of the region and Europe, for preventing the conflict and solving the regional crisis.

On this occasion I also emphasise that the Albanians and Greeks, as the most ancient peoples of the peninsula, must demonstrate clear proofs that the Balkans, as the peninsula of the ancient European civilizations, is, and should be today, a region of peace, tranquillity and stability. In this aspect, Greece, as member of the European Community, can certainly play a great role.

Albania is fully engaged in meeting the rights of the Greek minority in accordance with the standards of the charter of Copenhagen, CSCE. We will continue on this track, stressing that efforts to manipulate this minority have been obstacles, which we wish will occur no more.

We appreciate the aid provided for the Albanian autocephalous Orthodox Church and assure you that the laic Albanian state, and detached from religion, treats all the communities equally according to the law. Properties will be restored conform the law approved by the Albanian Parliament. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Referring to the situation in the Balkans, President Berisha said that Albania does not demand the change of borders by force, but, he said that there will be no solution if the Albanian factor is ignored.

Minister Papoulias said that it is a special honour for him to visit democratic Albania and that he came to open a new chapter in the relations between Greece and Albania. "These relations are of specific importance under the situation of crisis in the Balkans, and we wish their further improvement and promotion." He said that he had agreed with the Albanian Government members to create a mix commission, which, according to the Greek legislation, will define the status for the Albanian citizens working in Greece, a thing which will be approved by the Greek Government. He also favoured the opening of new border crossing points as well as an agreement on the sea shelf. The Greek-Albanian cooperation will include a joint bank and joint projects financed by the EC.

"Albania is now a European oriented democratic country. I fully agree with what you said about the Balkans, with Greece and Albania playing a very important role," Mr. Papoulias said.

Meksi: Dialogue Important

AU1611121293 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—On November 15 before noon, Premier Aleksander Meksi received the Greek Foreign Minister, Karolos Papoulias.

Mr. Papoulias conveyed to Mr. Meksi cordial greetings from the Greek premier, Papandreou, and expressed his satisfaction over this meeting. "The Greeks and Albanians are two old peoples and friends and, have the same history," Mr. Papoulias said. "Today, the PASOK government is interested in and willing to have excellent Greek-Albanian relations. We can jointly go ahead for bilateral projects as well as with the European Community. There are many fields of cooperation."

Mr. Papoulias launched the idea of creating a mix commission to deal with the problem of the Albanian economic emigrants in Greece. The commission will legally solve their problems about staying and working in Greece.

During the talk, the Greek foreign minister concerned himself in problems of the minority, their schooling in the Greek language and other problems.

Premier Meksi told Mr. Papoulias that the Albanian Government is interested in a concrete and open policy with the neighbouring Greek state respecting the sovereign rights of both countries. He also expressed the Albanian Government's willingness to realize projects of banking cooperation, in investment and infrastructure.

"It is important that the governments enter into dialogue for problems existing between the two countries," Mr. Meksi said. "A meeting of experts for the refugee problem is urgent. The opening of two new border crossing points in Tre Urat and Sajadhe, is necessary to increase contacts between the two peoples," he said further on.

"The two governments," Mr. Meksi went on, "must engage in prohibiting anti-Albanian and anti-Greek propaganda, in finding ways to solve problems of the Cam people and of the church's properties." Mr. Meksi expressed the Albanian Government's readiness that, in the framework of the Law on Education, it will also tackle the problem of schooling in the Greek language of the minority people.

'Successful' Talks Noted

NC1511191293 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Report by Nikolaos Meletis from Tirana]

[Excerpts] Concluding his Balkan tour, Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias described as successful his talks with Albanian President Sali Berisha and Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi in Tirana today. The minister said: This visit opens a new chapter in bilateral relations and stressed the two sides' political position on the promotion of Greek-Albanian relations.

In a joint news conference with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, Papoulias said the Albanian side showed a spirit of understanding and cooperation to resolve pending Greek minority issues. It was announced that the Albanian parliament will soon pass a bill on education that will settle the teaching of Greek language throughout the state, not just in established minority zones as has been the case so far. Papoulias noted that Albania wants to help the Greek minority in all sectors because it would be a bridge of friendship between the two countries.

Referring to the issue of Greek workers in Athens, the ministers said that a mixed committee will be formed and the plan it will prepare will be ratified by the Greek chamber. [passage omitted]

Asked about the Yugoslav crisis, the Albanian foreign minister disagreed with the lifting of the embargo against New Yugoslavia. The ministers also disagreed on who is responsible for the Yugoslav crisis—Albania blames the Serbs exclusively—and on Kosovo. [passage omitted]

First Russian Minister 'For Many Years' Visits

AU1511132393 Tirana ATA in English 1203 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 15 (ATA)—"I am very impressed that I am speaking towards the Albanian intellectuals by the reason of the fact for many years our relations were cut because of stupid reasons. I appreciate the fact that now we can again speak and talk together," said Yevgeniy Sidorov, Russian minister of culture in his meeting with Albanian intellectuals on November 14, who is on an official visit in Albania. Then Mr. Sidorov presented to those present the draft agreement of cooperation, which is of mutual interest both for Albania and Russia. Attending the meeting was also the minister of culture, youth and sports, Dhimiter Anagnosti and the ambassador of the Russian Embassy in Tirana, Viktor Naruballo. Then, the Russian minister visited the Museum of National History and had a meeting with members and sympathizers of the Albania-Russia Friendship Association.

Zhulali Praises Italian 'Pelican' Aid Operation

AU1611121693 Tirana ATA in English GMT 0925 16 Nov 93

[Interview with Minister of Defense Safet Zhulali by Bujar Muharremi; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, November 16 (ATA)—Question: What can you say Mr. Minister concerning opinions voiced by some press organs regarding the departure of Pelican Operation from Albania?

Reply: The name of Pelican is already known and dear to everyone in Albania. Pelican is a beautiful and strong fowl the Albanians are very fond of. The name of Pelican reminds Albanians of the sentiments of friendship and gratitude, harmoniously developed in the spirit of Albanians who are very sensible to human behaviour and which are part of their spirit and life.

Albania suffered the consequences of the abolishment of savage dictatorship and this was reflected not only in its consciousness but also in the stomach of the Albanians and the shortage of medicine. Pelican came to Albania under such difficult circumstances to carry out with devotion its as human as generous activity in Albania. Pelican relieved the great pain caused during the transition period and aroused among Albanians the desire to live and work. It showed the people that Europe is ready to help Albania. I think that the transition period marked the revival of the best traditions of Albania's good relations with friendly Italy. The Pelican staff was characterized by honesty, sincerity and devotion and its aid to Albania was enormous.

Democracy in Albania is forging ahead in all the areas. Transportation is one of areas which has considerably developed. The more Albanian economy develops, the less necessary emergency aid. Consequently Albania faces with other qualitative requests in the economic development such as the accomplishment of new projects, great investments in economy as President Berisha put it at the meeting with Mr. Brittan, EC deputy president [title as received]. The noble mission of Pelican ended and it is going to leave Albania at the beginning of December carrying the profound gratitude and friendship of the Albanian nation and providing the Albanian Army with its rich experience. Inspired by Pelican the Albanian Army organized sister Shqiponja service which made an important contribution to the distribution of aid. Pelican officials have been awarded high decorations by Albanian officials, no one can deny the work of Pelican Operation in Albania. Pelican will leave Albania enjoying the love and respect of Albanians and it will always remain dear to them. The Albanian Government will organize a farewell ceremony to mark departure of Pelican operation from Albania.

Pelican has gone down into the history of democratic Albania and will always remain unforgettable in Albania just as the aid and great support the Albanian people gave to thousands of italian soldiers after capitulation of Italy in the wwii.

This is the message of our peoples which will bring to higher levels the relations between Albania and Italy.

Berov, U.S. Ambassador Discuss FRY Embargo

AU1611121493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] On 16 November at the Boyana residence Prime Minister Lyuben Berov met U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery at a working breakfast. The most topical Balkan issues that affect our country were discussed. After the meeting Mr. Berov and Mr. Montgomery made a brief statement.

[Begin recording] [Berov] We discussed the embargo—how much longer it will continue and what will be its final stage in the future. We also discussed relations that emerge in connection with [words indistinct], related to maintaining the balance in the Balkans.

In this respect we established identical positions, which Bulgaria and the United States will maintain in anything related to peace in the Balkans.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Berov, you have been talking for a long time about the embargo, but nothing else was done. Could you foresee any results?

[Berov] Precisely this is what was stressed by our side, namely, that so far we have receive moral support and indirect compensations, but it would be better to see something more tangible. Perhaps there will be joint steps by the Balkan states, for example, Greece and Bulgaria, and probably Romania, which will be aimed at alleviating the embargo.

[Montgomery, in English fading into Bulgarian translation] The prime minister and I had a very lengthy and useful discussion of the comprehensive situation in Bulgaria, Ambassador Montgomery said. I value highly the opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the Bulgarian position, which is very important against the background of Bulgaria's proximity to the location of the conflict. I will inform my government on the issues that were raised. [end recording]

Berov Plans Reform; BZNS Demands Resignation

AU1511133693 Sofia BTA in English 0956 GMT 15 Nov 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—Speaking to REUTERS, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said he was considering structural changes in the cabinet. Mr. Berov said he was going to set up a Privatization Ministry and appoint ministers of trade and labor so as to reduce the workload of the two deputy prime ministers now responsible for these sectors. On Tuesday [16 November] parliament will put to the vote the fourth no-confidence motion made by the Union of Democratic Forces this year.

At a plenum today the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), which supports Mr. Berov's cabinet, discussed the economic situation and concluded there were no prospects of overcoming the grave crisis and resuming the reforms, which now are blocked, in the foreseeable future. In a report at the plenum BSP leader Zhan Videnov said society is facing a dilemma: Either the financial and banking sector will stabilize, or hyperinflation, unemployment and bankruptcy will be unleashed. The Socialists also discussed the cabinet's social and economic policy. Proposals for major cabinet changes were made. Zakhari Zakhariev, a member of the BSP leadership, said the party could not commit itself to support people like deputy prime minister and trade minister Valentin Karabashev and the ministers of industry, Rumen Bikov, of Agriculture, Georgi Tanev, and health care, Tancho Gugalov.

Colonel-General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the General Staff and First Deputy Defense Minister of Russia, is arriving on a four-day visit here tomorrow at the invitation of Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian General Staff. The state and prospects of military cooperation will be high on the agenda of the talks. A plan for contacts between the two defense ministries in 1994 will be signed. General Kolesnikov will be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Berov and Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party led by Anastasiya Mozer today tried to block a section of the Sofia-Istanbul international highway to protest against policies harming farmers' interests. Participants in the action were fewer than expected because of the snow, BTA's correspondent reported from Khaskovo (Southern Bulgaria). Police cordoned off the adjoining area and prevented the roadblock. "The Berov cabinet is doing nothing about the reform in agriculture and should step down," Mrs. Mozer said. This is the Agrarian Party's second attempt to block the highway in two months. [passage omitted]

President Criticized for Efforts To Join NATO

AU1211142293 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Nov 93 p 6

[Commentary by Svetoslav Terziev: "Like The Donkey at the Wedding"]

[Text] Whenever a donkey is asked to a wedding, he must make himself useful. Whenever a small country is asked to join the "club of the powerful" the purpose of the invitation is usually to involve the small partner in some shady business for which it can subsequently be blamed. Regarding the question of Bulgaria and NATO, in the Panorama TV program on Saturday night [6 November] President Zhelev seemed very eager to attend the wedding, and dismissed some people's appeals for neutrality for our country as "ridiculous."

In current circumstances, if Bulgaria becomes a NATO member, this would not only be unlikely to improve our

security, but would be the most direct way of involving the country in the Western military bloc's possible operations in former Yugoslavia. Precisely at this moment, when the rich countries are trying to disengage from peacekeeping operations at all costs, as is the case with Bosnia and Somalia, they need other nations to serve as cannon fodder. Therefore, the Americans who have already half withdrawn their troops from Somalia welcome the arrival of reinforcements from Pakistan and similar states. For the same reason the "world community" is praising the participation of a Bulgarian contingent in Cambodia, which has distinguished itself by ten victims.

Some time ago President Zhelyu Zhelev appealed to the Bulgarian people, telling them that they should get used to such sacrifices, because other nations were doing the same. Today he calls on us to join NATO, because even the eternally neutral Switzerland is considering doing so. In this connection the president admitted a slight inaccuracy: Switzerland is not considering NATO membership. It is deliberating whether to join the United Nations. In the long run, however, is it so important under which banner Bulgarian soldiers are supposed to die in some foreign land?

Since our state leadership thinks it is, our only hope is with the NATO supreme command. Let us hope that it resists the pressure of the Bulgarian Atlantic entusiasts and hesitates to accept Bulgaria as a member, at least until the war in Yugoslavia has ended.

BSP Leader Assesses Plenum Debate as 'Useful'

AU1411191593 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the socialist members of the National Assembly carefully prepared their plenum today because they had to assess the progress of reforms in the economic and socialist fields and adopt a position on this issue. This is how Zhan Videnov, BSP leader, assessed the plenum's debate.

[Begin Videnov recording] The debate was exceptionally useful, responsible, and essential. All the participants understand the tough choice that the country is currently facing as well as the difficult decisions that must be adopted by all basic political forces, public organizations, and state institutions, which includes the BSP as the largest parliamentary force. I am referring to whether we can mobilize all our national resources in an attempt to cope with the most difficult stage of the crisis and implement the urgent reforms at a tolerable social cost or whether we will progress toward a greater economic and social chaos, which will be accompanied by untimely and ill-prepared political changes through the elections.

I think that everyone understands that national interests require an attempt to gain a maximum amount of support to stabilize and reform the country from a socioeconomic point of view. This must be done before any other catastrophic or radical variants are invoked. [end recording]

At the plenum, it was proposed to vote on the necessity of achieving a consensus on the reforms. However, some 30 minutes ago, this proposal was still not voted on because of a lack of quorum, our correspondent Lilyana Yancheva reports.

Cabinet Adopts Decree on Utilizing 1993 Budget

AU1611061393 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Today the cabinet adopted a Decree on the Utilization of the 1993 National Budget, which envisages reduction and payment of expenditures until the end of this year. The move had to be made because budgetary resources were depleted by the end of October and the revenue side of the budget is likely to be collected only 78 percent.

The decree obliges all state-owned companies and commercial partnerships with majority state interest to channel their settlements through the banks, which will improve the financial condition of the banks and hence increase revenues. The document entrusts the State Fund for Reconstruction and Development to buy from the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank the receivables of companies and commercial partnerships from Russia on exports delivered under the 1991 clearing trade arrangement with Russia. By taking over the receivables, the State Fund will finance exports to the amount of some 800-900 million leva, most of which will enter the budget, Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev told journalists at the Government Press Office. The Ministry of Finance has been obliged to audit the state-owned companies and partnerships, and the ministers have been instructed to demand from the companies, through administrative methods included, to pay the 16,000 million leva due to the exchequer which have been calculated but not yet collected.

The decree calls for deep cuts in spending and allows municipalities to transfer funds from other funds for payment of welfare benefits. Deputy Prime Minister Karabashev declined to commit himself to predictions as to what funds the implementation of these measures would bring the exchequer.

The government today nearly doubled the tolls charged on foreign- registered motor vehicles for entry, transit and use of trunk roads in this country. Motor cars will be charged 2 leva per kilometer, and buses and trucks 3 to 10 leva. The tolls for crossing the Danube by the bridge between Ruse and Giurgiu will increase by an average 30 percent. According to Transport Minister Kiril Ermenkov, the tolls had to be revised because of the rise of the dollar. The effective tolls were introduced in the summer of 1991, when 1 dollar exchanged for 20 leva, the rate now exceeds 32 leva/1 U.S. dollar.

The cabinet permitted two Turkish warships to pay a port call to Sozopol, November 22 through 26.

The Council of Ministers approved draft agreements on economic, scientific and technological cooperation in agriculture and veterinary and sanitary control between the Governments of Bulgaria and Israel.

DPS Secretary Oktay Attacks Turkish Party

AU1311220193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] In the opinion of Osman Oktay, responsible secretary of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], the no-confidence vote in the government that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] intends to demand will be rejected. He expressed this view to correspondents in Razgrad, where he was taking part in a conference of the district DPS organization. The DPS secretary assessed the SDS's demand as an untimely political move. He predicted that Lyuben Berov's cabinet will collect a substantial number of votes in its support.

Oktay also declared that the unregistered Turkish Democratic Party led by Adem Kenan is not and cannot be a real competitor of the DPS in regions like Ludogorie. According to him, no political force or political figure has been successful by making declarations calling for two flags, two armies, and two territories.

Finally, Osman Oktay added that the district meetings of the DPS that he attended rejected Kenan's propositions regarding a national minority.

Organization Calls For 'Autonomous' Macedonia

AU1211130193 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 8 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Blagoevgrad Correspondent Purvoleta Tsvetkova: "The Ilinden United Macedonian Organization Has Put Up Posters Calling For 'Autonomous Macedonia' in Blageovgrad"]

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 7 November—"Macedonian men and women, pay your respects and lay wreaths for the giants of the struggle for autonomous Macedonia"—this is written on posters put up in the streets of Blagoevgrad by the [illegal] Ilinden United Macedonian Organization. The posters are disseminated on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [VMRO] and the 90th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising. The text inscribed on the poster is in Macedonian dialect and is advertised as a publication of the daily SPORNUVANE, which is the organ of the Ilinden Organization. The poster also carries a text of the Krushevo Manifesto, issued in 1903, which ends with the words: "Hurrah! For autonomous Macedonia." The poster further mentions the names of the villages that joined the uprising, the burnt homes, and the people who remained without a roof, who had to escape as refugees. It mentions the men, women, and children who were killed during the Ilinden uprising. The poster clearly expresses the view that VMRO came into existence as a result of the Karposhovo uprising in 1689, of the Razlog uprising in 1876, and of the Kresna uprising in 1878, which pursued the goal of establishing an autonomous Macedonian state within the ethnic borders of the ancient Macedonian state.

U.S. Postpones Transport of Military Equipment

LD1511155893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] The U.S. Defense Department has called off, for organizational reasons, air transportation planned for 16 November of Czech military equipment used to measure chemical substances. According to information from the Czech Ministry of Defense press department, no substitute date has been given so far. However, the transport is expected to take place before the end of November.

Following certain health problems experienced by U.S. Gulf veterans, the Pentagon has shown interest in the Czech unit's measuring equipment, which revealed the presence of chemical warfare substances in the Persian Gulf.

Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys will leave for the United States according to plan on 16 November.

Klaus on Sudeten Germans, Stoiber's Letter

AU1611060993 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Nov 93 pp 1, 3

["go"-signed report: "Let Bavaria Take Care of its Own Prosperity, Prime Minister Klaus Proclaims; This Was His Reaction to the Text of Prime Minister Stoiber's Letter"]

[Text] Vaclav Klaus cannot imagine why the prosperity of the Czech Republic should be the goal of a Bavarian government representative.

The prime minister reacted this way in the answer to a RUDE PRAVO question on Tuesday [9 November] regarding the letter he received that day from one of the leading representatives of Bavaria and patrons of the Sudeten Germans. Vaclav Klaus told RUDE PRAVO: "I must say that however accommodating he believed this statement to be, I believe that it is our goal that the Czech Republic prospers. His goal should be the prosperity of Bavaria. I do not see the slightest reason why the prosperity of the Czech Republic should be his goal." To a direct question on whether he is referring to Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber, the prime minister said that "RUDE PRAVO well knows with whom he, Klaus, regularly exchanges letters."

(At the end of May, the new Bavarian Prime Minister Stoiber appeared at the Sudeten German Days, among other things, with the demand that the Czech Republic abrogate [former President] Benes' decrees and thus, by its supportive approach to the Sudeten Germans issue, create conditions for Bavaria's favorable attitude towards the Ingolstadt oil pipeline. Klaus wrote in his 25 June answer to Stoiber, among other things, that, in the Czech public, Stoiber's words "found a very negative response" and that "the Bavarian side unfortunately showed very little understanding for the political situation in the Czech Republic." Later, on 15 August, Klaus and Stoiber met).

Prime Minister Klaus also emphasized that he has nothing new to say to the statements by Sudeten Landsmanschaft Head F. Neubauer. "At the very moment we start answering all the new statements, we accept the risk that, after several weeks, the second answer will slightly differ from the first one. The harsher or milder wording is then immediately interpreted as a change in our policy. There is no change in our policy, but Mr. Neubauer keeps trying nevertheless," the prime minister concluded.

Daily Calls for Intelligence Spokesman

AU1611060893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Nov 93 p 6

[Jaroslav Kmenta and Sabina Slonkova: "Devaty Must Inform"]

[Text] When Security Information Service [BIS] Director Stanislav Devaty announced that the BIS will no longer provide any information to the press, he has apparently not chosen the most fortunate method of keeping the secret service secret.

Devaty believes that every single one of his appearances in public was misused. It seems that he no longer wants to be dragged into any conceivable affair or information leak.

The public has the right, however, to ask for the basic information on the office, the operation of which it pays for with its taxes.

Hence, Devaty is wrong if he believes that the best thing to do is to veil oneself in secrecy. If he established a flexible press center and had a capable person there, it would benefit rather than harm the present BIS. After all, timely information or precise argumentation can serve as a defense mechanism against some unbased and distorted reports.

Foreign intelligence services have recognized this advantage. The CIA intelligence service in the United States, for instance, has its spokesman. Even in neighboring Poland, where the secret service operation is similar to that of the Czech services, the Office for the Protection of the State established the post of spokesman.

The information of the public by means of the press is, in some countries, also the method of controlling the secret services. A special inspection, which controls the secret services in France, is authorized to use public pressure in the control of the services, so that it passes the information obtained to the press. Of course, the inspection can take this step only if it does not threaten the security of the state.

If the BIS management decides to break down the information barrier, which it should do, and appoints its spokesman, it must be a post equipped with sufficient powers. Otherwise, the instance could be repeated of the spokesman of the former federal counterespionage.

Since he did not inform the public even about trivial cases, claiming that this information was classified, he was a superfluous luxury for the service.

Havel Meets Government Coalition Parties

AU1511210193 Prague CTK in English 1911 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 13 (CTK)—The future territorial-administrative setup of the Czech Republic was discussed today by Czech President Vaclav Havel and representatives from the groups of deputies of three government coalition parties.

Today's meeting with the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) continued a series of short meetings with deputy groups, started on Friday [12 November] with talks with the strongest coalition party, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). Havel will also meet today with representatives from three opposition parties' deputy groups.

KDS Group Chairman Marek Benda said that Havel probably prefers the KDS's view of the reform of the territorial-administrative setup of the Czech Republic, which aims to decentralize state power, to the ODS's. The ODS has said that work on the reform of the territorial-administrative setup should start immediately, but does not believe that higher territorial units could be created by the communal elections, slated for the autumn 1994.

The KDS, Benda said, thinks that the reform should continue so that elections to the bodies of the higher territorial units may be held as soon as possible.

Jan Kasal (KDU-CSL), deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament, said that there were no differences of opinion between Havel and the group. They also discussed the controversial issue of church property restitution. Kasal said that a deadline should be set for the coalition parties to decide which property would be returned to the churches.

The KDU-CSL deputies agreed with Havel that it was necessary to revive discussion on the role of morality in society, Kasal said.

Oldrich Kuzilek, chairman of the ODA group, recalled that the Office For Legislation and Public Administration, headed by ODA Chairman and Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda, had worked out material on the reform of the territorial-administrative setup. But it has not yet been discussed by the government.

Havel Warns Against Nationalist Ideology

AU1611062293 Prague CTK in English 1544 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 14 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel warned today that ideology based on the premise that membership of a nation is the ultimate value automatically generates the conviction that one nation is better than the others.

In his regular Sunday radio program Talks From Lany, Havel was speaking about his visit to Slovenia on November 10-11 during which he and his Slovenian counterpart Milan Kucan signed a joint statement on the war conflict in the Balkans.

Havel said that Bosnia-Herzegovina had been a rare example of coexistence of citizens of various cultures, religions and ethnic backgrounds, of multicultural civic coexistence. To sacrifice this principle would be tantamount to sacrificing one of the fundamental principles of the current unification of Europe, Havel warned.

He said that the current peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina did respect effort at truce, but the time had come for reflection on the very sense of the talks which could slip to the principle of ethnic separation. This is not the key to lasting peace, Havel stressed. The sense of Europe's unification is to create an area in which nations, ethnic groups and cultures will live together full lives, Havel said.

If Europe sacrificed the principle of civic coexistence and accepted the perverted idea of an ethnically pure state as the climax of the life of a nation, it would deny the sense of its own endeavor. This would turn against it as a whole, Havel pointed out.

He said his visit to Slovenia had been most important because it had confirmed that there existed another country of the Central European zone which was rightfully striving to be part of Europe's civilized world.

Havel Praises 'Correct Relations' With Kovac

AU1611062193 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 14 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel said today that he and Slovak President Michal Kovac, to visit Prague on Wednesday, would exchange information on the situation in their countries and on general questions.

In his regular Sunday radio program Talks From Lany, Havel said that Kovac, while fully respecting the constitution and his status of a constitutional official, was striving for the presidential post to be independent. Havel said that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic were only building common law which had been existing for a long time in stabilized democracies.

He praised the correct character of relations between him and Kovac, and said Kovac was acting as a prudent and wise man.

Havel also appreciated the parliament's resolution calling on the government to submit to it by the end of the year a fundamental concept of a reform of public administration and basics of a relevant constitutional bill.

The government has been postponing the reform of the Czech Republic's territorial-administrative setup, which prompted the parliament to approve the resolution on Thursday [11 November]. He said it was not possible to say now, we will rationalize the state administration, but self-government can wait.

If higher territorial units are defined and state administration is thereby decentralized, there is no reason for self-government bodies not to be created, Havel said.

On political parties Havel said that they were irreplaceable tools of political consensus, political culture, political life, political system. But the state cannot belong to parties. On the contrary, parties must serve the state, he stressed. Havel admitted that he was being criticized by political leaders who believe he has objections against their parties.

Kocarnik Comments on Convertibility of Koruna

AU1611082893 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 12 (CTK)—Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told a conference of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation that he expected the Czech koruna to become fully convertible by no later than the year 2000.

He also said that the amount of hard currency Czech citizens would be allowed to buy each year would double in 1994. Citizens may currently buy up to 7,500 Czech korunas (about $250) worth of hard currency. In 1995 the limit on hard currency purchases would probably be eliminated, he said.

Kocarnik said the Czech Government was already about 65 percent of the way toward gaining full convertibility for the koruna. The first step in this was the devaluation of the then Czechoslovak koruna in December 1990, since which time the koruna's exchange rate has remained stable.

Government Not To Initiate Bankruptcies

AU1511191593 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 12 (CTK)—Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba said today that the Czech Government was not calling for bankruptcies and would not initiate them, though it did not want to prevent them. The government was going to accept them as a fact, he added.

Speaking at a meeting of the Czech Economic Society, Dyba said that it was a problem of creditors of indebted enterprises to initiate bankruptcies and that it concerned, for example, banks, firms, private businessmen, the National Property Fund and others.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, who delivered a lecture at the meeting, said that the government would not artificially maintain the enterprises which were incapable of surviving economically but, on the other hand, it had no reason for speeding up the process of bankruptcies in any way. The government's task is to prepare laws and conditions for it, Klaus stressed.

Klaus said that real revaluation of the Czech crown was continuing because the inflation rate in the Czech Republic was considerably higher than in the states towards which the Czech currency's exchange rate was kept fixed. Currently these countries are Germany and the United States, Klaus added. As long as we have a higher inflation rate than these countries, consistent real revaluation of the Czech Crown will continue, Klaus said.

The systematic transformation from a communist totalitarian society to a system of political pluralism and a market economy is a process based on the complicated interaction of political and economic factors and on a strict timetable of individual transformation steps, Klaus said.

The systematic transformation which is being implemented in the Czech Republic means fundamental change in macro-economic decision-making of the state, setting free markets of their bureaucratic grip and opening to the world, Klaus stressed.

Economy Minister Gives Growth Figures

LD1511172393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Economy Minister Karel Dyba said in Prague today that the pace of gross domestic product growth corresponded so far to the government's expectation of its growth by half to one percent this year. The export share in gross domestic product came close to 50 percent. Czech exports had been on considerable increase and this was the main cause of growing gross domestic product despite the fall of industry output, Karel Dyba said. He considered realistic the government's expectation that the annual inflation rate next year would not exceed nine percent. However, this depended on the relation between growth of wages and work productivity.

Economy Minister Cited on Development Factors

LD1511184793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] The expected results of the development of Czech economy, according to today's statement of Minister of

Economy Karel Dyba, are by no means poor in comparison with the advanced industrial countries. Ales Hermanek reports:

[Hermanek] The assessment of results has been divided into three indices. The first one expresses the expected rate of growth of gross national income in 1993. In the Czech Republic one half to one percent is expected, while the majority of West European states, apart from Great Britain, show negative figures. The second index, called current account, as a percentage of the gross national income, represents the coefficient of the strength of currency and, at the same time, the ability of the state to pay its obligations. It is true that in this respect the Czech Republic lags behind, for example, Switzerland and Belgium, but on the other hand it is ahead of, Australia, France, and even Germany.

The least favorable index is that for estimated increase in consumer prices, by as much as 19 percent for 1993; of the other states compared, the greatest increase is recorded by Sweden, with 4.7 percent. Minister Dyba said that the greatest portion in this figure, unfavorable for us, arises from introducing value added tax at the beginning of this year, so that in normal circumstances the price increase would be about 10 percent. The minister of the economy added:

[Begin Dyba recording] Altogether, with the exception of the special inflation problem, I think that we are doing well compared with other countries, in view of the complex questions connected with the transformation process, the division of the republic, and so on. [end recording]

[Hermanek] As minister Dyba went on to say, the favorable development in tourism has continued this year, when incomes from this source for the first nine months exceeded 1 billion crowns, an increase of 36 percent over last year.

Dyba Assesses GDP, Trade, Inflation, Tourism

AU1611061793 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 15 (CTK)— The growth of the gross domestic product so far corresponds with government predictions, and the GDP is expected to increase by 0.5 to 1 percent this year, Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba said at a press conference today.

Exports make up nearly 50 percent of the GDP. Our exports are growing considerably, and this is the main reason why the gross domestic product is growing even when industrial production is falling, Dyba stated.

He said he considered realistic the government's forecast for 1994 that the annual inflation rate will not be higher than nine percent. To reach this relatively low inflation rate, the government needs to maintain the current relation between the growth of wages and the productivity of labor so that wages will not grow faster than productivity.

Revenues from foreign tourism exceeded $1 billion from January to September and grew by 36 percent compared to the same period last year. The number of tourists coming to the Czech Republic increased by 5.5 percent compared to 1992 and reached 53.6 million.

On their trips abroad Czech citizens spent $365 million from January to the end of September, which represents a 4.8 percent increase over 1992. A total of 22.4 million Czech citizens travelled abroad, which is a drop of 6.4 percent.

Kovac Reacts 'With Anger' to Lexa's Statements

AU1611062393 Prague CTK in English 1410 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 12 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac reacted with anger today to the statement made by state secretary for the Privatization Ministry Ivan Lexa on Thursday [11 November] in an interview for Slovak Radio, and voiced hope that Lexa would be dismissed from his office, Kovac's Spokesman Anton Bodis told CTK.

Lexa told Slovak Radio that he expected Kovac not to carry out political purges and not to place personal interests and reservations above the interests of work. On Monday, Kovac rejected Lexa's nomination as minister of privatization.

The arrogant behavior of Mr. Lexa had not only confirmed the president in his view that Lexa lacked the qualifications for exercising the office to which he had not been appointed, but also put in question Lexa's ability to exercise any other important post in the state, the interests of which he harms, Bodis said. He said that Kovac was convinced that Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar would draw the appropriate conclusions from Lexa's approach.

Recently, Lexa became the cause of public dispute between the president and premier, who was very much hurt by Kovac's decision not to appoint Lexa as privatization minister. Verbal clashes between the two constitutional officials were followed by Lexa's statement Thursday to Slovak Radio, in which he, in an insulting manner, accused the president of certain systematic mistakes in his thinking.

It is not usual for the head of state to polemize with a high state official through the media, especially when it is known that the Prosecutor General's Office started investigating whether Lexa committed the crime of dishonoring the republic and its representatives, Bodis said.

Kovac believes that Lexa's statements dishonor the head of state at home and abroad and that they not only insult the president but the whole country. Lexa also endangers the reputation of the premier and it is thus in the interests of Meciar that he take relevant steps, Bodis said, adding that the president had sent the premier a letter concerning the affair.

KDH: 'Impossible' for Lexa To Stay in Post

AU1611062093 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 13 (CTK)—The leadership of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) said today the blackmail policy applied by Premier Vladimir Meciar and Secretary of State to the Privatization Ministry Ivan Lexa in relation to President Michal Kovac harmed Slovakia's interests.

In a statement given to CTK, the opposition KDH said that Lexa's remaining in the ministerial post and in the post of Slovak Government Office head was impossible.

Over the past days, Lexa has several times spoken against Kovac who had refused to appoint him as privatization minister. On Thursday [11 November], Lexa accused Kovac of a certain kind of systemic defect in thinking.

Lexa's appointment as privatization minister was pushed for by Meciar in spite of the fact that Kovac had twice refused to appoint Lexa to a high-ranking state post. After Kovac resolutely refused Meciar's proposal to appoint Lexa privatization minister of a new coalition party of Meciar's Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) on Monday [8 November], Meciar submitted to Kovac on Tuesday a second proposal which did not contain Lexa's name.

The Slovak Prosecutor General's Office has started to investigate whether or not Lexa had committed the criminal offense of defamation of the republic and its representative.

HZDS Leadership Backs Meciar Against Kovac

AU1611080093 Prague CTK in English 2245 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Levice, West Slovakia, Nov 13 (CTK)—The political leadership of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today regretted that President Michal Kovac had rejected, without stating any reasons, to nominate Ivan Lexa privatization minister.

Meciar wanted Lexa to be privatization minister in the new coalition government which his HZDS created with the Slovak National Party (SNS). Kovac rejected Lexa on Monday [8 November]. On Tuesday, Meciar submitted to him a new government proposal, not including any candidate for the privatization minister post, and said he would manage the ministry himself. Kovac accepted this proposal and appointed a new coalition government.

As long as I am responsible for the government, I must be free to choose people, Meciar told journalists today.

Asked by CTK to comment on Lexa's offending statements about Kovac and the latter's proposal to dismiss Lexa from his post of secretary of state to the privatization ministry, Meciar said that the private dispute between the president and Lexa does not concern me and my post. He stressed that the HZDS leadership had again fully supported Lexa. Lexa accused Kovac on Thursday of a certain kind of systemic defect in thinking.

We are not creating new myths and idols which must not be criticized. It is possible to criticize even the president,

Meciar said. The HZDS leadership has analyzed thoroughly all causes of the dispute between the government the Castle and believes that it is necessary to sink the differences, Meciar said.

He predicted that the Slovak political scene would not calm down before two years because the personal ambitions of some people are not still satisfied. Slovakia's problems arise from the fact that on the one hand people are not opposed to the existence of the independent state, but more than 70 percent of them are afraid of the future. Therefore, it is necessary to promote trust in oneself and in the state, Meciar pointed out.

He said that the causes of disputes did not rest in political parties or their programs, but in many politicians' unwillingness to accept the results of the last elections June 1992.

On the day when this state was being born, no one, except for the HZDS and the SNS, was ready to take over responsibility for it, Meciar said.

The HZDS leadership assessed relations with the Czech Republic as generally good, but pending questions related to property division must be settled, Meciar said.

He added that Slovak-Czech cooperation on the bilateral basis as well as within the Visegrad Four (also comprising Hungary and Poland) were necessary conditions for improving the atmosphere in Central Europe.

Prosecutor: Government Cannot Inspect President

AU1511202193 Prague CTK in English 1538 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 12 (CTK)—The Slovak Prosecutor General's Office today took the side of Slovak President Michal Kovac's office, whose employees on Thursday [11 November] refused to admit an inspection group from the government office that intended to control the management of the office.

The Office of the President is a legal subject which unambiguously does not belong to the system of state administrative bodies. It thus cannot be controlled by the Government Office, reads a statement from the Prosecutor General's Office, which was quoted by Slovak Radio today.

The attempt to carry out an inspection at Bratislava Castle is apparently connected with the current tension between the government and the president's office. The government office, which ordered the inspection, is headed by Ivan Lexa, a politician close to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and whom Kovac refused to appoint as privatization minister on Monday [8 November]. In his statement on Thursday, Lexa publicly accused Kovac, among other things, of dirty business activities.

HZDS Proposes Meciar, Klaus for Nobel Prize

AU1611074093 Prague CTK in English 2139 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Levice, East Slovakia, Nov 13 (CTK)—The leadership of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) decided today to propose the Slovak and Czech premiers, Vladimir Meciar and Vaclav Klaus, as candidates for the Nobel Prize Peace, HZDS spokeswoman Ivana Salzerova told journalists.

The proposal will be made to mark the 1st anniversary of the creation of independent Slovakia and of the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia as of January 1, 1993, the talks on which were led by Meciar and Klaus.

Meciar told journalists that the proposal was the HZDS leadership's initiative, and added he would inform Klaus.

By its decision, the HZDS wants to point out that unlike the disintegration of other states in Europe, accompanied by wars and bloodshed, the division of Czechoslovakia was peaceful and civilized, Meciar said.

Opposition Criticizes Nomination

AU1611074293 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 14 (CTK)—The decision by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) to propose the Slovak and Czech premiers, Vladimir Meciar and Vaclav Klaus, as candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize was described as a topic for a satirist by Democratic Left Party (SDL) chairman Peter Weiss today.

The decision was made by the HZDS leadership at its session at Levice, west Slovakia, on Saturday [13 November]. HZDS spokeswoman Ivana Salzerova said it was had been made on the occasion of the forthcoming first anniversary of independent Slovakia. Czechoslovakia split into the independent Czech Republic and Slovakia as of January 1, 1993.

Salzerova said the decision had been explained by the fact that Meciar and Klaus had been the main coordinators of the peaceful division of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Meciar said he accepted the proposal. I will certainly inform Vaclav Klaus about the HZDS initiative, he added, but said he doubted the initiative would be successful.

Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), a vehement opponent of the division of Czechoslovakia, said: I cannot imagine a bigger offense could be made to the Nobel Peace Prize. Zeman attended the 3rd congress of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS) in Bratislava on Saturday.

Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), told CTK that the proposal is rather comical, simply ridiculous. It will not naturally be acceptable even from the procedural point of view because candidacy for the Nobel Prize can be submitted only by strictly defined persons and institutions, and the republic leadership of the HZDS is not one of them, he added.

Andrejcak Says NATO's Doubts Dispelled

AU1611060793 Bratislava REPUBLIKA (OBRANA Supplement) in Slovak 11 Nov 93 p 1

[Interview with Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak by an "m"- signed OBRANA reporter in Bratislava on 4 November: "Without Any Doubts"]

[Text] As reported by all our information media, Slovak President Michal Kovac returned from an official visit to Brussels, the official seat of NATO and the European Union, last Thursday [4 November]. Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak was one of the members of his delegation. Immediately after his arrival in Bratislava, we asked him a few questions.

[OBRANA] The idea appeared in the statements made by NATO representatives in the last couple of months that Slovakia should make it absolutely clear in which direction it is heading. Do you think that the president's trip to Brussels gave an unequivocal reply to this question?

[Andrejcak] I believe that, after this trip, there will no longer be any doubts and, even if someone wanted to harm us and wanted to distort our intentions, he will no longer succeed. The president presented this unequivocally during his talks in the Council of NATO Ambassadors and with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, and they became convinced that Slovakia is following the path of integration into all European structures and that we want to become a NATO member. We assess the situation soberly and know that this will be a long-term process. The "Partnership for Peace" program is a confirmation of the correctness of our ideas regarding cooperation with the Alliance.

[OBRANA] The preparation of highly important conceptual documents that will, in fact, determine the priorities of building our army until the end of the millennium is being wound up at the Ministry of Defense these days. Do these documents count on Slovakia moving closer to NATO and on the possibility of collective defense?

[Andrejcak] We are working on bills that are in full accord with the [legislation of] armies of democratic states and are preparing all kinds of concepts, such as the Army Restructuring Concept. We are about to submit to the State Defense Council the Military Doctrine, which has been consulted on with the parliamentary clubs and the parliamentary political parties. A set of extremely important documents is involved. These documents do not deal with Slovakia's entry into NATO, but they establish conditions for it. Slovakia will join NATO only after our parliament makes a decision to this effect. In this context, I would like to stress that not even one NATO official has said that our army was poorly organized. I raised this question in the Committee for Military Issues and was given a candid reply. NATO refuses to impose diktats as the Warsaw Pact used to do. It is expressly our own business what the Army of the Slovak Republic will be like. A great deal will depend on the amount of resources allocated to the army. This will determine our ability to realize our intention to start building the army's new structure as of next year.

[OBRANA] Statements coming from Russia in conjunction with our efforts to become integrated into NATO sound peculiar. The Russian defense minister claims, for example, that NATO should not be expanded at all.

[Andrejcak] The "Partnership for Peace" program provides for the participation of all states of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC]. Russia, too, is a member of the NACC. Only the degree of activity as expressed in specific proposals and the meeting of conditions, which have not been specified thus far, will determine the measure of drawing closer to NATO. In other words, participation in this program does not guarantee a path into NATO. Every country can fill this cooperation with its own specific contents. But the program will establish conditions for states that will display the greatest initiative and will meet the greatest number of conditions to attain a standard that will prompt the member countries to state that it would be better if the state in question were admitted as a member of NATO.

NATO Official Praises Changes

AU1611061593 Prague CTK in English 1817 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 15 (CTK)— Peter Corterier, general secretary of the North Atlantic Assembly, told journalists today that he appreciated the speed of Slovak military forces' approachment to those in Western countries.

Slovakia has already taken many steps to make its military forces comparative with those of the West, Corterier stated. He appreciated that further steps were prepared. He also praised the civilian and democratic system of monitoring the Slovak Army: It is very important, as these forces actually used to be a state within the state under the totalitarian regime, he noted.

Corterier said that the NATO summit to be held in January in Brussels could be expected to present many proposals concerning the exchange of officers, military exercises, and training. He said Slovakia should not expect to be admitted to the Alliance in a short future. It is a complicated process which must be carefully prepared and controlled, Corterier added.

Corterier arrived in Slovakia at the invitation of Ladislav Polka, the chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Petitions, Legal Protection, and Security.

Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak said that the fact was often underestimated that the Defense Ministry was completely newly-built and one third of its posts were purely civilian ones. The ministry has had to hand many of its powers to the army command, and it is now practically only a supervisory body, Andrejcak stated.

Andrejcak today also met with Robert Oaks, the chief commander of the NATO air force in Central Europe.

Coalition Government Holds First Session

AU1611082693 Prague CTK in English 1947 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Casta-Papiernicka, West Slovakia, Nov 14 (CTK)—Slovakia's reshaped coalition government is holding its first session at Casta-Papiernicka near Bratislava today. The government has been in session for ten hours, but the head of the Premier's Secretariat, Anna Nagyova, has declined to give CTK any information on the session's agenda and course.

According to available information, the powers of the government members are to be distributed today. Slovak Television has said the agenda included no secret points. The next session of Premier Vladimir Meciar's cabinet is to held on Tuesday [16 November] as usual.

The coalition government of Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) was appointed by President Michal Kovac on Tuesday.

MOS Wants To Form Coalition To Enter Parliament

AU1611081293 Prague CTK in English 2009 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Text] Dunajska Streda, West Slovakia, Nov 14 (CTK)—Laszlo Nagy said today the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) had its place in Slovak Parliament and therefore would try to enter into coalition with the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) and the Egyutteles movement. The next parliamentary elections are slated for 1996.

Nagy, MOS chairman, was speaking at the 3rd two-day congress of the party, which ended today. The MKDH has 5 out of a total of 150 seats in Slovak Parliament, Egyutteles has 9 seats.

On Saturday [13 November], Nagy said that the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia was not only interested in questions of national identity. The ethnic Hungarians want to enjoy the same rights as other citizens in social, political, economic and religious life, he pointed out.

Nagy criticized the government for having slowed down the process of changing the social system, for constantly looking for an enemy and for unnecessarily stressing the state's superior role in solving economic problems.

He pointed to the need for good relations between Slovakia and Hungary. About 560,000 ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia, constituting about 11 percent of the whole population.

MOS, a non-parliamentary party, is a successor to the Hungarian Independent Initiative, which was created on November 18, 1989, when the events, which led to the ultimate fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in late 1989, erupted.

Jaroslav Volf Elected SDSS Chairman

AU1511214193 Prague CTK in English 2310 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 13 (CTK)—The 3rd Congress of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS) today elected Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Volf the party's chairman. Volf has wielded the powers of party chairman since the death of Alexander Dubcek, who died in November 1992 of the consequences of a car accident, aged 70.

Dubcek, the protagonist of the Prague Spring communist-led reform movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968, was confirmed in the post of SDSS chairman by the party's 2nd congress in October 1992. The guests to the congress, which continues on Sunday, include chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Milos Zeman.

Bohunice Nuclear Reactor To Be Shut Down

AU1511202093 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 12 (CTK)—The output of the second block of Jaslovske Bohunice Nuclear Power Station began to fall this evening as a shutdown operation began which will allow the gradual replacement of fuel elements and a technical inspection to take place.

Slovak Television said that shutting the reactor down and giving it a general overhaul would take 38 days.

Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, is the oldest nuclear power station in the former Czechoslovakia, and also the one which has had the most problems. Its operation is frequently criticized by Austrian and other environmentalists. It was also reported today that the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (BERD) is allegedly making credit for the completion of the nuclear power station at Mochovce, West Slovakia conditional on the decommissioning of Jaslovske Bohunice.

PRC To 'Study' Offer To Use Arms Industry

AU1511205893 Bratislava REPUBLIKA (OBRANA Supplement) in Slovak 11 Nov 93 p 2

[Interview with Igor Urban, state secretary at the Slovak Ministry of Defense, by Jan Makan; place and date not given: "Soldiers as the Vanguard"]

[Excerpt] At the end of October, a delegation of the Slovak Ministry of Defense headed by State Secretary Igor Urban, doctor of pedagogy, paid a visit to the PRC, where it conducted talks with the supreme representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. After the delegation's return home, we asked State Secretary Igor Urban about the objectives of that visit.

[Urban] It was a visit that was in accord with the Defense Ministry's plan of foreign trips and its aim was to establish initial contacts between the Slovak Ministry of Defense and the PRC Ministry of National Defense. We had planned this visit for the closing part of the year, because we assumed that other talks would be held until then that would precede the military delegation's visit to China. This did not happen and we were actually the first delegation from the Slovak Republic to visit China. Our aim was to confirm the Slovak Defense Ministry's interest in cooperation with the PRC Ministry of National Defense and to put forward proposals for cooperation in individual areas.

[Makan] Did you discuss specific forms of cooperation?

[Urban] We spoke about the potentials of the Slovak arms industry. We offered the modernization of weapons systems that are used in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Our suggestions concerned, furthermore, cooperation in securing training for Chinese Army pilots. The idea of cooperation in the sphere of exchanging students and recreational sojourns turned out to be very interesting for both sides. At the same time, we exchanged information on our views regarding the military and political situation in Europe and Asia. Both sides were quite candid in characterizing the present situation.

[Makan] Could you be more specific regarding the interest of the Chinese side in utilizing the capacities of the Slovak arms industry?

[Urban] The Chinese side expressed its interest in studying these offers, but it did not comment on how realistic their realization was.

[Makan] Will there be more contacts with the Chinese Army?

[Urban] A visit by four representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is currently being prepared. It should be headed by the commander of the Academy of Military Sciences. [passage omitted]

Kovac Says Democratization 'Irreversible'

LD1611143793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac said that the process of democratization in Slovakia is irreversible. This applies also to Slovakia's foreign political orientation. This is what he said in Bonn during talks with Rita Suessmuth, the Bundestag president. He also emphasized the interest in Slovakia joining the European integration process and in close cooperation within European security structures. In this respect he stated that he relies in particular on the support of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Antall Says Hungary Needs Media Law

AU1311195293 Budapest MTI in English 0952 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 12 Nov (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall addressed the media issue in Thursday's [11 November] government session, the first one he attended since he returned from a month of medical treatment abroad, Government Spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told reporters on Friday.

The prime minister said it was a common interest of all political parties and forces that a media law be passed in Hungary as soon as possible. In the spokeswoman's view, this statement indicated that the government would again put forward its own draft to Parliament.

Although the opposition parties have also compiled drafts, Parliament has not yet decided if it will put them on their agenda. Some days ago Tamas Katona, state secretary in charge of media affairs at the Prime Minister's office, told the press he saw no chance for the media law to go through before the 1994 parliamentary elections.

In a bid to help Hungarian Television (HTV) overcome its financial difficulties, the government decided to make 765 million forints available to it from budget general reserves and the blocked account of HTV.

In reply to a question, the spokeswoman said this assistance did not imply that the government took a stand in favour of the current management of HTV. She recalled that the prime minister had asked in letters that HTV and Hungarian Radio vice-presidents provide comprehensiuve information about the internal situation and operation of their institutions and the events in the recent weeks. The vice-presidents received the letters on Monday.

Goncz Reacts to Letter

AU1111060493 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Nov 93 pp 1,4

[Interview with President of the Republic Arpad Goncz by Jozsef Ballai in Kecskemet on 9 November: "Goncz: To Relieve Tension"]

[Text] I will try to meet the prime minister, his health permitting, on 10 or 11 November, Arpad Goncz told our correspondent in Kecskemet on 9 November. Goncz participated in the closing day of the international mother tongue conference organized at the local teacher training school.

After the conference, Goncz answered journalists'—among them our correspondent's—questions.

[Ballai] You and the prime minister have different views on the events that have taken place in the radio and the television. How do you assess the situation in the wake of [Prime Minister Jozsef] Antall's letter that was published on 8 November?

[Goncz] My opinion has not changed. I hoped that the two of us would quickly be able to ease the tension. This is the reason I had written the letter before my departure [for South Korea]. According to yesterday's reply, this attempt was unsuccessful. I am glad that the letter left a road open; the prime minister wrote that he would request thorough information on the situation in the Hungarian Television and the Hungarian Radio, and he would have the necessary governmental measures examined because all this is necessary for him to form his final opinion. From this I have to conclude that he has not yet formed his final view. His letter to the parliament's chairman included that the government was considering the possibility of resubmitting the draft media bill. I hope that this will be a proposal for consent and the law can be enacted on this basis. It is good if this issue is not yet closed but, at the same time, I am sad because I had thought that we would quickly be able to close this issue before it escalated.

[Ballai] The radio and television chairmen's positions are vacant at the moment. Whom does this depend on?

[Goncz] To be honest, I have not received any proposals for two years. As for suggesting Sandor Sara, this proposal was made for a managing deputy chairman invested with the power of chairman. At the moment, I do not have any valid proposals. There is nothing I can sign. This is precisely what I wanted to ask in my letter to the prime minister, namely to discuss what could be done.

[Ballai] Do you think that a personal meeting with the prime minister on this issue is out of the question?

[Goncz] Not at all! Before I left for South Korea, I had informed him that I would be sending him a letter; we spoke to each other every four or five days during his illness. I have not yet called him since I came home. However, I reckon I should be meeting him on 10 or 11 November—providing his health allows this.

[Ballai] You suggested to the prime minister that he should propose suitable people to head the media. Does this mean that you are willing to accept anyone?

[Goncz] Just as I assessed the proposals I received in the past—in accordance with the provisions of the constitution—I will obviously always use this right. I shall continue to observe the constitution.

Katona Views Media Issue

AU1211190993 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov 93 pp 1,4

[Interview with State Secretary Tamas Katona by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Tamas Katona Wrote His Letter—He No Longer Counts on a Media Law"]

[Text] As the the latest plenary session of the Hungarian Parliament also showed, the media affair has again emerged as one of the leading domestic policy issues in

Hungary. This also explained the timeliness of the interview our correspondent made with State Secretary Tamas Katona.

[Correspondent] Mr Katona, the president of the republic said in connection with the prime minister's letter that a final position had not yet emerged on the issue. When will there be a final position and, in your opinion, what possibilities are there?

[Katona] The prime minister has just returned from Germany and he obviously wants to get a detailed picture of this complex problem. Probably he will submit this affair to the government or to his advisers. He also said in his letter that the government would discuss the issue. It is impossible to know in advance what opinion will emerge in Jozsef Antall and then in the government. It is possible that Antall will not consider it necessary for the government to interfere in an affair that does not concern it, all the more so because people keep criticizing the government for interfering in such issues. However, it is possible that the government will take another position. All of us are aware of how sensitive this issue is, an issue that harms many interests and even more feelings. We also know that emotional politics is very dangerous. It is certain that the government's position will be a pragmatic and rational one, rather than an emotional one.

[Correspondent] Will the issue already be discussed at the next government session?

[Katona] I think this issue will be discussed later. The problem here lies in the details and these details must be learned first. The prime minister has been in daily contact with the government on the events taking place in the country. He still has to ask his people's opinion and learn the details. I definitely do not think that the next government meeting will come up with a genuine position on the issue.

[Correspondent] Have you already spoken with Jozsef Antall about this issue?

[Katona] I wrote a long letter to Jozsef Antall on the subject. However, the letter was also overtaken by recent events. I should now write him another, but I am very lazy and I hope that I will be able to give him my opinion face to face.

[Correspondent] Measures have been taken to tighten up against the Radio Cabaret program. As is well known, you are a liberal man....

[Katona] To quote Istvan Csurka, I am the government's infected man. Besides, I regard these things as the logical consequences of the impossible situation that has emerged.

[Correspondent] Do you mean the lack of a media law?

[Katona] Yes. When all this could have been solved with a personnel change, we failed to carry this out, even though Sandor Sara had 65 percent support on the Cultural Committee. In my opinion, the struggle was lost there and emotions have been ruling ever since. At the same time, I respect the creative sovereignty and deep feelings of all those who are now forbidding the broadcasting of their works in the electronic media. However, I do not agree with this.

[Correspondent] But you do not regard this as a victory either?

[Katona] No. All this shows that these affairs have slipped away from rational control. Everyone is trying to make desperate gestures, but these gestures are not a solution. Hungarian society is aware that there is freedom of the press in Hungary, even if not everyone shares the opinion that the government could have a little more of this freedom. Thus, these things will not disturb society. I hope the storm will abate and then, sometime, it would be good to do something to solve this question. The current situation is in no one's interest.

[Correspondent] Do you see any hope that the current Parliament will adopt a media law?

[Katona] I almost regard this as impossible. There is such a large pile of legislative action awaiting parliament's attention that we will be lucky if it can finish this task. Important laws, such as the army and police laws, are still awaiting legislation. Thus, it would be dangerous to come up with a new media concept that is both time-consuming and debate-consuming. They will again want to regulate the number of breaths that can be taken between the news and the commentary. This is a sad situation. I did everything to have a media law one year ago, and I got my due for this from both the right and the left.

[Correspondent] You mentioned a letter that you wrote to the prime minister. Will we only be able to read this in your memoirs?

[Katona] One should also think about future historians. When someone examines the long period of the Antall cabinet, he will see the letter and think what well-intentioned donkeys these people were!

TV Official Denies 'Rumors' on Strike

AU1311195193 Budapest MTI in English 0857 GMT 12 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 12 Nov (MTI)—In a statement sent to MTI on Thursday, Hungarian Television Vice-President Gabor Nahlik denied recent rumours that the operation of a strike committee at Hungarian Television (HTV) had any effect on the work of management.

In reply to a letter sent to him by the strike committee, Nahlik said that a staff-management agreement had been reached some months ago but could not be signed in the absence of rules on the execution of the existing law on the legal status of public employees.

During talks to coordinate the rules, HTV management consistently represented the interests of its public employees and programme-makers, Nahlik said.

Meanwhile, the management started compiling next year's programme structure by collecting plans from the editorial desks some month ago. The structure would be discussed by the editorial committee this month, he said.

Nahlik denied that there was any logical link between recent managerial measures and the demands of the strike committee. HTV's financial plan was completed long ago. It was demagoguery to say the technical staff is poorly paid since it was just this year that they got the highest ever pay rise in the station's history, he said.

It was also demagogic to speak of the financial and moral collapse of HTV, Nahlik said. The new programmes launched this year all had high ratings. They made it possible for HTV to fully achieve its functions as a public-service medium.

The management looked to the financial viability of the whole company, he said.

Fur, Slovenia's Jansa Discuss NATO

AU1111105993 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 10 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 10 Nov (MTI)—Defence Ministers Lajos Fur of Hungary and Janez Jansa of Slovenia held talks at Balatonkenese today with the attendance of Slovenian Ambassador to Hungary Ferenc Hajos, Slovenian Chief of staff Col.-Gen. Albin Gutman, and Hungarian Chief of Staff Lieut.-Gen. Janos Deak.

The Slovenian minister told reporters that this was the third meeting between the two countries' defence ministers, and that Hungary was the first country to conclude a defence cooperation agreement with Slovenia. In their discussion of European and regional security, both sides agreed that they are endangered by the flare-up of fighting in former Yugoslavia. For this reason, they have an interest in prolonging the mandate of UN peacekeeping forces in the region.

Jansa said the Slovenian Parliament approved the goal of closer ties to NATO, and the government presented a formal application for membership. He added that Slovenia lays emphasis on developing cooperation with the Visegrad states. Replying to questions, the Slovenian minister said his country's military doctrine is of a defensive nature and that genuine security can only be guaranteed by a collective security system.

The Hungarian defence minister said they discussed cooperation between East Central European states in developing ties with NATO, and ways for Slovenia to strenghten relations with Visegrad countries.

Hungary and Slovenia already cooperate in military training and will extend cooperation to other fields as well, Fur said.

The Slovenian minister left Hungary today. Chief of staff Gutman will remain until Friday [12 November].

Walesa Says TV Chairman Nomination 'Big Mistake'

LD1511150393 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] The National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council has nominated chairmen of the boards of the Polish Television and Polish Radio companies, as well as members of the boards and supervisory boards.

President Lech Walesa has called the nomination of Wieslaw Walendziak to the post of the chairman of the board of the Polish Television company a big mistake. Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski has stressed that the president had not expressed satisfaction over Walendziak's candidature being put forward. He added that the decision had been made by the Council as a constitutional body. He pointed out that the Council was accepting responsibility for its proposed solutions and will be responsible for the consequences.

Walesa Proposes New Constitutional Initiative

LD1611123493 Warsaw PAP in English 1142 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—President Lech Walesa proposed a new legislative initiative for the verdicts of the Constitutional Tribunal to be binding without the acceptance of the Sejm (Lower House).

Speaking at the General Assembly of the Constitutional Tribunal judges, Walesa said that the interim "small constitution" has replaced the principle of supremacy of parliament with the principle of division and balance of powers.

"There is a need to strengthen the position of the Constitutional Tribunal by introducing a principle that its verdicts are final and generally binding," Walesa said.

Walesa Speaks at Independence Day Ceremony

AU1511172693 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 12-14 Nov 93 p 1

[Speech by President Lech Walesa at an Independence Day ceremony in Warsaw on 11 November]

[Text] The 11th of November is our national day, a day of joy and reflection, a day of homage to the founders of our independence and to its warriors and martyrs. It is a day to reflect upon the fate of the nation and the difficult road it has travelled in order to reach independence, a road of uprisings and warfare, from the Kosciuszko Uprising to the legions of Jozef Pilsudski, and of political and diplomatic actions, ranging from those of Count Adam Czartoryski to those of Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Paderewski.

Today, let us remember that time of great patriotic effort, heroic deeds, and great people. The prophecies that had lifted the hearts of Poles in their darkest hours were finally fulfilled. The three partition powers collapsed in ruins. History finally gave Poland an unrepeatable chance that was not wasted. There was sufficient desire and motivation. The 11th of December was a breakthrough. In its voyage toward independence, the nation received an excellent helmsman in the person of Jozef Pilsudski, a man who never lost faith in the nation. Despite his tragic experience as an insurgent, he always believed that only the Poles can rebuild Poland.

The nation did not spare its blood for independence. People of various social backgrounds, ages, and occupations followed the white eagle emblem for the honor of God and the fatherland. They did so in Galicia, Greater Poland, and Silesia. They fought in Warsaw, where the darkest hour occurred.

That is why this 75th anniversary of the regaining of our independence is an opportunity to remember that tradition and to convey the military banner to the heirs of those warriors and defenders of Polish independence. On behalf of the nation, I convey this banner to the Polish Army Special Company, a unit that is representative of our armed forces.

In 1918, history lent Poland a helpful hand, but it did not present Poland with independence as a gift. The Poles had to work in order to achieve it. We appreciate the friendly declarations of the powers that were sympathetic toward us then, but these declarations were not a sufficiently strong currency with which to purchase independence.

Poland arose not out of treaties, but out of the will of the people, out of its efforts, dedication, and blood. The emergence of an independent Poland clashed with the interests of many. It exceeded the framework of the order that was acceptable to the powerful countries. Europe's sympathy possessed very narrow boundaries. The support was too weak, something that that generation of Poles discovered for itself all too clearly. They felt the bitter taste of disappointment.

Poland was not the debtor of Europe; neither at that time, nor later. On the contrary, Poland was Europe's creditor. We ought to remember that, not in order to point accusing fingers at anyone, but to protect ourselves against magical myths, irrational illusions, and vain hopes of selfless aid.

We Poles, whom history has once again provided with an unrepeatable chance, should be mindful of this. If we fail, we will be answerable to history. Therefore I wish to reiterate: Freedom is not something that is granted once and for all. We have fought for freedom, sword in hand, whenever necessary. Now, each one of us must consolidate this freedom with his wisdom and his work for the common welfare and our republic.

Poll Says Majority Disapprove of Walesa

WS1511131493 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13-14 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by P.W.R.: "Who Is Ashamed of Walesa; Drzycimski: President Did Not Seek Popularity"]

[Text] **We do not think much of our president. Most of all, we do not agree with the way he handles his post, we are rarely satisfied with his performance, and we are often disappointed with him. He inspires hope, confidence, or admiration in few people. Some are even ashamed of Walesa, as demonstrated by some recent and earlier results of public opinion polls. This trend—which is bad news for the president—has been holding for many months now.**

"The president did not participate in the election campaign, so he did not particularly seek popularity"—this is how Walesa's spokesman, Andrzej Drzycimski, commented on the poll results.

Over half of those polled do not agree with the way the president handles his post; 20 percent think he does it well.

Who are the people who do not approve of Lech Walesa's measures? Females tend to be more dissatisfied than males. Critics often include white-collar workers, unskilled laborers, as well as schoolchildren and university students—the dissatisfaction of those groups is in the range of 60 percent. Among those who approve of the way the Presidency has been handled are the elderly (over 60 years of age), farmers, housewives, and also those who, in the 19 September elections, voted the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, ethnic minorities, "Solidarity," and the Catholic Election Committee "Motherland." Supporters of the Movement for the Third Republic, the Democratic Left Alliance, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the Polish Peasant Party, the Union for Real Politics, and Party "X," are critical of the way the Presidency has been handled.

Sixty percent of those polled are not satisfied with Lech Walesa's performance. Close to every other person polled said they feel disappointed with him often or even very often. When one takes a look at these poll results, it is interesting to note that we are not too angry with the president. Every third person polled has never been angry with him, while only every fifth person polled admitted it occurs often.

People seldom (or never) have hopes about Lech Walesa as president—so say half of those polled. Only every 10th person polled admires the president often, whereas two-thirds never or seldom do so.

One of the questions asked by the researchers was: "Have you at any time felt ashamed of Lech Walesa?" Every 10th person polled, replied: "Yes, very often," whereas every fifth person said: "Often." Thirty percent of those polled said they are "sometimes" ashamed of the president, whereas 40 percent said "never" or "seldom."

When asked to comment on the poll results, the president's spokesman told RZECZPOSPOLITA that President Walesa was performing his official duties during the election campaign, and he was not seeking popularity. He added that society blames Walesa for all the evil, while ignoring the fact that the president's power to influence the executive branch is limited.

"Lech Walesa will have to pay greater attention to his popularity in society, if he plans to run for president again"—Drzycimski said.

The poll was conducted by the Sopot Social Research Institute between 16 and 17 October 1993, using a 1,068-person sample representative of the country's adult population.

[Accompanying the text is a pie-chart showing results with regard to one of the questions asked during the poll: "Do you approve of the way Lech Walesa has been handling the post of the president of the Republic of Poland?" The results are:

[56 percent—"Do not approve"

[22 percent—"Approve"

[22 percent—"It is hard to say"]

Union of Labor's Nalecz on Party's Role

PM1611093093 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Professor Tomasz Nalecz, Union of Labor presidium member, by correspondent Wojciech Gielzynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Gielzynski] Hanna Suchocka's government used to claim that enterprises involved in the universal privatization program invariably pressed for an acceleration of the privatization process. The Union of Labor claims that the opposite was the case. How do you substantiate your opinion?

[Nalecz] We base it on observation and on information gathered from personal contacts with representatives of enterprises under privatization. Unfortunately, we have no resources to spend on opinion polls. There is a marked fear of privatization throughout hired employees' circles. After such experiences as that suffered by the Walbrzych porcelain manufacturing plant, or the Bistona company, people are wary of any changes in ownership relations concerning state enterprises. They are afraid of the uncertainty involved in these processes. The system of incentives designed to encourage privatization-fostering moves is attractive to the management cadres rather than the work forces. We believe that it is advisable to avoid putting pressure on work forces while working toward decisions in this area.

[Gielzynski] But is the Union of Labor not afraid that, if it places such strong emphasis on opposing the universal privatization program, people will form an impression that it represents an extreme left-wing political stand? Perhaps it is already perceived as a party of the extreme left?

[Nalecz] I would not fear the term "left" so much, you know. Moreover, our deeds and actions—as opposed to views bandied about in wordy debates—will soon prove that our position is indeed to the left of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Which is not to say that we are a party of ultra extreme leftists. It is simply that the SLD has increasingly revealed its multi-strand ideological composition which leads us to believe that soon it will allow itself to be dominated by a strong liberal group or faction within its own ranks. I believe that this could even offer us an opportunity to help clarify the new political map of the configuration of the Polish political scene. It could actually prove quite advantageous to us in the long run.

[Gielzynski] What about the short run?

[Nalecz] We could benefit also, although I must stress that we are often credited with intentions which we did not have in the first place. This could mislead some people. For example, popular opinion has it that we are generally opposed to privatization. This is complete nonsense. However, we do strongly support the idea of privatization of capital, because that can enhance enterprises' real financial resources. On the whole, I want to emphasize firmly that we are in no doubt whatsoever that the private sector should constitute the dominant element in the economy, since it has already proved its economic effectiveness. We will most vigorously oppose being labeled as some "radical leftists."

[Gielzynski] But, of course, you will be labeled as such. There are some who are already dubbing you radical leftists.

[Nalecz] We will not be intimidated by their allegations. We will continue to prove through our policy and actions that we are a regular social democratic party as defined in terms of West European politics.

[Gielzynski] But are you, as a party, homogeneous and cohesive? After all, we remember the much-highlighted disputes among your leading circles concerning differences of opinion over whether you should or should not join the government coalition. If reports were correct, these were ultimately settled in favor of the negative answer by a majority of only one vote. Is that correct?

[Nalecz] It is true that there were sharp disagreements over that question. I believe that the final decision will ultimately bring us beneficial results. In my opinion, the National Council'a prognosis of our possible position in the government coalition was far too optimistic. It was made on the strength of a majority opinion that we would turn out to be the coalition's constructive force and that, with so many members whose names were famous through their Solidarity association, we could provide a protective shield for the coalition which would screen it from a variety of accusations and charges. However, our talks on the possibility of forming a coalition proved that such considerations were simply not taken into account at all, and that simple mathematical calculations were in operation there. We were forever reminded: You have only 40 deputies and the coalition will be possible even without you. I even think that eventually the group which commanded the largest number of seats felt most relieved at the thought that the Union of Labor would not enter the government coalition after all, and so we would not have the opportunity to include any of our election promises in the coalition's working program. In addition to the privatization question, in our coalition talks we very strongly emphasized the need to initiate firm talks with the Belweder [president's seat] concerning at least one of the ministries out of the three sectors regarded as enjoying the "presidential prerogative." We have long believed that there is much to be criticized in the work of the sector in question. In the past, we let the premier know of our reservations, criticizing in particular the case of the so-called Instruction O-015. We believe that the special services, which still continue with many practices of the "old regime"—not only on an individual basis, but also within their regular institutional operational framework—should be placed under government and parliamentary supervision, and not be subject solely to a single person's instruction and supervision.

[Gielzynski] How did your partners in the potential coalition talks react to these proposals?

[Nalecz] They did not make any concessions to them. Nevertheless, we have not lost all hope that they will still become persuaded to accept our arguments. After all, every successive week will prove the validity of our diagnosis.

[Gielzynski] Let us now go back to the stand taken by the National Council. After all, as far as I know, they were predominantly in favor of the option which would have you join the government coalition, were they not?

[Nalecz] There was a clearly discernible difference of opinion between our "aktiv" —to use a somewhat unpopular term—and our electorate. In any case, my voters from the district of Mokotow, whom I meet in the streets, stores, or on the bus, are clearly relieved that we are not joining the coalition. I believe that these are not isolated cases. They voted for us as an alternative left-wing party and they believed that we would have disappointed their expectations if we had joined the government—especially in the capacity of an "annex" or a "protective shield." If that were the case, many people representing the Solidarity tradition would have left us and we would then run in the future self-government election as a party considered to be a "post-PZPR" [Polish United Workers Party] formation. Then in a couple years or so, we might eventually end up as, say, a "Polish United Democratic Left"...

[Gielzynski] I think you had better not cry wolf... Thank you for talking to us.

Right-Wing Coalition Warns Against Pawlak's Policy

LD1311112993 Warsaw PAP in English 1017 GMT 13 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—Right-wing leaders on Friday warned against the effects of the policy to be pursued by the present government and stressed that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's parliamentary expose on Monday "lacked elements assessing the period of the Polish People's Republic..."

Leaders of the Centre Alliance, the Christian National Union and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Agreement which set up a right-wing coalition on Wednesday, said in their first joint communique that "in his expose Pawlak has not indicated ways to increase budget revenues while announcing an economic, social, cultural and educational policy which requires a rapid increase in budget expenditures."

The coalition leaders welcomed the government's announcement that it will attempt to improve "internal security of citizens and external security of the state," and stressed they that will continue to demand from the government steps leading to Poland's association with NATO.

They also protested against the government's plans to renegotiate the text of a concordat between Poland and the Holy See negotiated and approved by the previous government. They called on Prime Minister Pawlak to immediately start the process of the ratification of this document.

Kwasniewski Backs NATO Membership

BR1511171893 Milan L'ESPRESSO in Italian 14 Nov 93

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by Beata Chmiel; place, date not given: "'Me Red? No Way! I Dream Of NATO'"]

[Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the real winner in the last elections, is not officially a member of the new left-wing government just formed in Poland and led by Waldemar Pawlak of the Polish Peasant Party. In reality, the leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, the heir of the now defunct communist party, is considered Warsaw's "shadow prime minister" (and in fact, according to unwritten agreements, Pawlak cannot make any decision without consulting him). Paradoxically, it is felt that he will guarantee that there is no return to communism. L'ESPRESSO asked Kwasniewski a number of questions about the future of a Poland governed by Solidarity's historical enemies.

[Chmiel] Who actually leads the government? Prime Minister Pawlak or you?

[Kwasniewski] There cannot be two prime ministers at the same time. Therefore the powers assigned by the Constitution, such as responsibility for government action, are in Pawlak's hands. However, I do not deny that, in my capacity as leader of the largest parliamentary group, I have played a fundamental role in putting together the coalition.

[Chmiel] So why have you not directly taken on the leadership of the government?

[Kwasniewski] Because in politics it is necessary to have someone "on the sidelines." This will give me the time needed to turn my attention to the party. And who knows, this solution may even turn out to be the best one, not only for me but also for the country?

[Chmiel] Are you perhaps preparing to become the next president of the republic and take over Lech Walesa's post?

[Kwasniewski] That depends on the powers assigned to the president of the republic by the new Constitution, which has yet to be written. For the time being, however, I am standing for the post of chairman of the committee that will draft the Constitution. I am aware of the irony in this: After four years with Solidarity in power, the left will have the last word on the country's institutional setup. I can say with certainty, however, that there will be no return to the old regime.

[Chmiel] In fact, many people accuse your party of not being left-wing but laissez-faire.

[Kwasniewski] We are social democrats, but we are also convinced that in order to defend the interests of the workers we must first have the material resources. We therefore need to emphasize economic development above everything else.

[Chmiel] What does that mean in concrete terms?

[Kwasniewski] In concrete terms we realize that welfarism (as you call it in Italy) would be political suicide. We cannot allow ourselves to boost inflation or increase the budget deficit. We cannot do anything that might harm private investment or scare off foreign capital. We are not communists at all. We are truly in favor of the market and privatization. This is what makes us popular. Our voters want reforms, not "real socialism."

[Chmiel] You have delegated foreign policy to men who are not representatives of the coalition parties. One of Walesa's men, Andrzej Olechowski, has been appointed foreign minister. The lower chamber's Foreign Affairs Committee is led by Bronislaw Geremek, a representative of the opposition. How come?

[Kwasniewski] Because, as regards international issues, there are no differences between my party and the opposition. There are only three parties that have clear,

unequivocal, and similar ideas on foreign policy: the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, Geremek and Mazowiecki's Democratic Union, and the liberals, although they are not present in parliament. I would like people in the West to stop thinking that we are returning to communism.

[Chmiel] What do you think of the possibility of Poland joining the EEC?

[Kwasniewski] Over the last three years, my party—even when it was in opposition—has always supported past governments' requests to join the European Union. Today, such a request should form the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

[Chmiel] Are you also in favor of joining NATO?

[Kwasniewski] For the time being it is the West that is not proving very enthusiastic about immediate NATO membership for Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

[Chmiel] And what do you think?

[Kwasniewski] I base my thinking on the premise that the only existing military structure in our continent is NATO, and since I am in favor of a new collective security system in Europe, I believe that such a system can only be constructed within the framework of what is still called the Atlantic Pact, although it must not neglect Russian interests.

Poll Shows Army, Police Most Popular Institutions

WS1511152493 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by A.F.T.: "Approval Ratings at the Beginning of Term of Office"]

[Text] For the first time in more than two years, the Sejm has received almost as many positive opinions as negative ones. It is not known what our opinion of the new government will be, because when the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] was conducting a poll on public establishments of the country in October, this government did not yet exist. It is worth recalling that the Hanna Suchocka government, in only half a year (from November 1992 to May 1993) lost more than 50 percent of its supporters.

Those establishments that are not directly involved in political activities are enjoying the greatest level of social approval.

The top rankings have not changed for a year: Army, police, and the spokesman for civil rights. The Army received 75 percent of the positive responses. The work of police and the spokesman for civil rights is positively evaluated by four-sixths of respondents. Approximately 50 percent of respondents expressed positive opinions of local authorities and the church.

The church received 8 percent more positive opinions than in July; this was probably caused by the fact that the church was not too heavily involved in the election campaign and that it was rather restrained in issuing opinions on the election results.

Every twelfth respondent voiced a negative opinion on the Army; every tenth—on the civil rights spokesman. One fifth of respondents do not like police.

The new parliament received much better ratings than its predecessor. Within four months, approval ratings for the Sejm increased by 15 percent; it received positive opinions from 35 percent of respondents. However, negative opinions, although slightly, still prevail: 38 percent expressed their disapproval (in May—70 percent). Of the respondents, 8 percent now had a better opinion on the Senate—the approval rating was almost 30 percent; negative opinions, more than a third.

There has been a slow but steady increase in positive opinions on the president's activities since May. Within four months, every fourteenth respondent improved his opinion of Lech Walesa; also, this is how many fewer negative opinions he received.

None of the employees' representations managed to win the support of more than one-third of respondents. The two largest trade unions, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" and the All-National Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ], were more often evaluated negatively than positively. "Solidarity" lost more than one-third of its supporters within almost a year. Every second respondent expressed a negative opinion about it; every third respondent does not like OPZZ. Only the rural Solidarity managed to maintain the same levels of approval and disapproval: 32 percent.

CBOS conducted the poll between 20 and 25 October with a representative group of 1192 adult inhabitants of Poland.

Public establishments that enjoyed the greatest social approval in October:

Army—75 percent

Police—65 percent

Spokesman for Civil Rights—64 percent

Municipal authorities (gminas)—54 percent

Church—49 percent

President—39 percent

Supreme Chamber of Control—37 percent

Sejm—35 percent

Rural Solidarity—32 percent

Senate—29 percent

OPZZ—29 percent

Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity"—28 percent

KLD Proposes 'Party of Polish Transformations' With UD

WS1511152293 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "Liberals Want Marriage With UD; Tusk: Foreplay is Over, Time for Facts"]

[Text] **The liberals want to create a new political arrangement along with the Democratic Union [UD], and with all those interested in continuing the reforms. The Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD] protests against the government's plans to increase the tax burden, "whose goal is to shift the cost of the left-wing government keeping their preelection promises, to society's active sector." Donald Tusk was reelected KLD chairman. He declared he is taking full responsibility upon himself, for forming the new arrangement.**

KLD's Fifth National Conference was supposed to conduct a post-election self-examination. Contrary to predictions that the conference will turn out to be a "heated meeting," including holding the leaders severely accountable, nothing like that really happened during the session. Neither a "rejuvenation" nor an "elimination of Gdansk-derived members" took place with regard to KLD's leadership. It was known already on Friday [12 November], after the conference's first full day, that this was going to be the case.

Only representatives of the Warsaw branch were persistent in their criticism of the measures undertaken by the leadership so far. They accused the leaders of having failed to transform KLD into a political party, of the liberals continuing to be a social group of political amateurs. But they voiced their criticism mainly unofficially. As it turned out, there were no ideas for alternative leaders. That is why Donald Tusk was reelected KLD chairman by an overwhelming majority. He was the only candidate. Both Jacek Merkiel (who was responsible for the election campaign), and the main "privatization man," [former minister of ownership transformations] Janusz Lewandowski, as well as the "young and angry" Pawel Piskorski—they all found their way into the 60- member governing board (leadership broadly speaking). The Krakow region lost, with only two of its representatives elected to the new governing board. Conference participants were discouraged by the greed exhibited by the Krakow members, who put as many as 16 of their own candidates up for election. The election proved a success for [former deputy labor minister] Michal Boni—the former chief of the Warsaw branch of "Solidarity" gained the biggest number of votes.

But the most important decision reached at the congress concerns KLD's future. A resolution calling for the Democratic Union [UD] to create a "new and permanent political arrangement—a party of Polish transformations" along with KLD, was approved by the representatives almost unanimously. The new party is supposed to oppose both "the left wing's populist promises," and the "pseudo-right wing's irresponsibility." The liberals want to create the new party along with UD (which is the only party clearly named in the resolution), and also with "all political groups, organizations, and personages who hold dear a similar vision of Poland."

"Nobody wants to sell out Polish liberalism, but party sentiment is no basis for election victory in four or eight years' time. It is time to move from political foreplay, to facts"—Tusk argued in front of the delegates to the conference. He assured everybody that he is taking full responsibility upon himself, for forming the new party. The voting results are proof that he managed to convince the delegates.

The KLD chairman explained during a press conference that the way of reaching the goal—whether it is a merger, or a prior dissolution of the "old" parties—is a matter for negotiations with UD. Even though the liberals want the negotiations to be finalized as soon as possible; May of next year seems the closest realistic date. "Because a Mazowiecki-Tusk handshake is just not enough."

Merger Before May 1994 Elections

LD1511221093 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Poznan, Nov. 15—The Democratic Union (UD) and the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) will probably form a joint electoral committee at the beginning of 1994 before the local government elections scheduled for May, the UD National Bureau said on Monday. The merger of the two parties is to be gradual.

The decision on the fusion will probably be the subject of UD extraordinary congress to be followed by a unification congress.

The UD Council is to take a position on the mode of the fusion in two-three weeks' time.

UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki told a press conference in Poznan Monday, following a meeting between UD deputies and members of the party, that the unification of the UD and the KLD should be achieved through a process of transformations within these political groupings and not starting everything since the beginning.

Former Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, present at the conference, negatively assessed decisions of the new government but stated that the UD was not a "fault-finding" party and would accept any positive moves of the Pawlak government.

Asked about factions, existing within the UD, Mazowiecki stated that they comprise only 10 per cent of the party members and differences between them are not

only of an ideological character but also a socio-economic one. The UD leader referred to the parliamentary Circle of Women, chaired by his party colleague Barbara Labuda, stressing that the circle is not within the structure of the Democratic Union.

According to Ms Suchocka, the activity of this circle relates to sore-point issues and causes a political problem for the Democratic Union.

Wroclaw UD Members Want Mazowiecki's Resignation

LD1511173093 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Wroclaw, Nov. 15—Barbara Labuda from the Democratic Union (UD) said at a press conference of UD parliamentarians from Wroclaw, that Tadeusz Mazowiecki should give up the post of the party chairman and hand it over to Wladyslaw Frasyniuk.

In spite of my utmost respect for Mr. Mazowiecki I think that he should hold only the party honorary chairman post.

Commenting upon a statement by the leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), in which Donald Tusk rejected any possibility of KLD cooperation with other political groupings that are in touch with the left-wing parties, UD parliamentarians from Wroclaw labeled it as "error" saying that good decisions of politicians from the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) cannot be omitted.

Ideas and political values are important and not sources from which they come, Labuda explained.

Pawlak, EBRD Agree on Continued Cooperation

LD1511141793 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1132 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Following his meeting today with Yves Fortin, permanent representative of the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Poland], Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has announced the continuation and expansion of cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. "On the basis of the prime minister's Sejm expose, we believe it is possible to continue and to expand the EBRD's cooperation with Poland," Fortin said.

This year and next, the main EBRD investments will go to the private sector and to the development of a transport and communication infrastructure in Poland—that is, the development of the telephone network and the construction of highways, Fortin said. He refused to reveal the sums involved, using the continuing negotiations as an excuse. "I hope that there will be a decision before Christmas regarding very important loans," he added.

During their evidence to the Sejm commissions, the ministers of transport and of communications stated that in the next few years their ministries require investments amounting to many billions of dollars. In the Ministry of Communications the largest sum will be invested in telecommunications, and in the Transport Ministry in adapting the Polish State Railways to the European network and to building a network of toll highways.

EBRD Deputy Chairman Ronald Freeman, who visited Warsaw in mid-October, declared that altogether, the bank's investments in Poland will amount "in the nearest future" to about $1 billion, of which a reserve of $60 million are to be destined for the creation of a turnover capital for the National Investment Funds, $300-400 million to increase the capital of enterprises privatized within the of mass privatization program, and about $200 million to increase the capital of the State Insurance Bureau [PZU].

After Monday's meeting with Pawlak, Fortin confirmed the EBRD's investment proposals. Apart from them, and from the programs linked to the building of an infrastructure, he also mentioned a program to restructure and privatize about 180 enterprises, privatize banks, and insure exports.

New Polish Radio Chief Announces Program Changes

LD1511175493 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1621 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 15 Nov—Krzysztof Michalski, the newly elected board chairman of the Polish Radio [PR] Company said in an interview for the Third Program that the current PR programs should undergo change.

"One ought to consider whether the profile of the present four central programs is the most appropriate profile, if one takes into account both the needs of the public and the objectives drawn by the law," Michalski said.

The new radio head thinks there is a need to tidy up the PR Fourth Program. He would also like to return to the tradition of the former Radio Three, "which was a program directed toward young intelligentsia, and which fulfilled all the radio needs of listeners coming from a specific generation, and with a specific standard of education." He emphasized, however, that journalists should have a lot of impact on the shape of the program. [passage omitted]

Sejm Speaker, Arab Ambassadors Discuss Cooperation

LD1511172793 Warsaw PAP in English 1659 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy received on Monday ambassadors of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Republic of Iraq, the Kingdom of Morocco, the Republic of Tunisia and the charge d'affairs of the

Republic of Yemen, the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, the state of Palestine and the Syrian Arab Republic, the Sejm Chancellery Information Office said.

The talks focused on different aspects of Polish-Arab cooperation.

The Polish-Arab political relations were assessed by Oleksy as good. As far as economic issues were concerned the sides discussed Arab capital investments, the presence of Arab firms on the Polish market and the possibility to boost Polish investments in Arab countries.

The ambassadors stressed the importance their countries attach to training of their students in Poland and suggested fees for them be lowered.

The development of inter-parliamentary relations including the establishment of bilateral groups were also touched upon.

Goods, Services Prices Rise

LD1511205593 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Prices of consumer goods and services increased by 1.9 percent during October, as compared with September, the Main Statistical Office (GUS) reported Monday. Compared to October 1992 the prices grew by 29.8 percent on the average.

In the January to September period of this year consumer price increases averaged 35.3 percent compared to the same period of last year, GUS added. The highest growth affected services (38.3 percent), followed by non-food items (36.5 percent) and foodstuffs (33.8 percent).

After nine months of 1993 the financial situation of enterprises was significantly better than a year ago, according to GUS. Their net financial result was positive, and combined profits reached 3.2 trillion zlotys (about $160 million). In the same period of last year the enterprises chalked up losses amounting to 10.6 trillion zlotys.

Pawlak Notes Opportunities for Cooperation With IMF

LD1611112193 Warsaw PAP in English 1039 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on Tuesday told a news briefing after his meeting with International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Deputy Managing Director Richard D. Erb that he sees great opportunities of cooperation with the IMF.

In Pawlak's opinion, the IMF accepts his cabinet's priorities, that is seeking economic, social and cultural growth of the country.

Erb agreed with that opinion but stressed that Poland's considerable economic growth is the IMF's major concern. If this is the target of the government's policy, the IMF thinks that the issue of having a more or less flexible approach to the bank's "performance criteria" for Poland will be of lesser importance.

Defense Reorganization at 'Important' Stage

AU1611093293 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Nov 93 p 5

[Article by Alexandru Andon: "Decentralization of Duties Within the Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] On 1 November, the process of restructuring the Ministry of National Defense entered a new and important stage. After the Defense Ministry's leadership approved of this act, the process of reorganization began at the central level in order to decentralize the leadership. Thus, part of the minister's duties will go to the General Staff [Marele Stat Major], which will be called the General Staff of the Army [Statul Major General]. Some of the minister's other duties will be shelled out to the general staffs of the three armed forces: the General Staff of the Ground Forces, the General Staff of the Navy, and the General Staff of the Air Force and Air Defense (the Air Command merged with the Air Defense). These three bodies will take over some of the Army General Staff's priorities, thus ensuring the army's operational leadership. The minister will be responsible for implementing the state's military policy.

In general, the changes within the Defense Ministry and the separation of duties will create the premises for integrating the institution's civilian component and will ensure its opening up toward a civilian society. The wave of reorganization will gradually reach the local military units. The functioning of the new structures will be examined some time after their implementation in order to make certain corrections if necessary.

The act of rethinking the organization of the Ministry of National Defense is part of a broader process of adapting the military body to its operational requirements within a rule-of-law state as well as its democratic standards. The process started immediately after December 1989, through the abrogation of those legal norms that were pulling the army away from its natural goals or the norms that linked it to the former Warsaw Pact. The law on organization and functioning of the Defense Ministry was later adopted. Considering that this act was concluded before the Constitution was voted on, it should now be adapted to the requirements of the fundamental law.

The current restructuring in the leadership of the Defense Ministry anticipates the reformulation of the law.

Democratic Party's Roman Seeks New Coalition

AU1611111393 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), by Clementina Filip; place and date not given: "It Is Our Duty To Find a Way Out of the Impasse"]

[Text] [Filip] The request forwarded by the head of the prime minister's Control Corps to the General Prosecuting Magistracy was publicly released shortly after your election as NATO rapporteur. Is this coincidence rather not suspect?

[Roman] This is a coincidence that cannot be treated as totally accidental. I would have liked it to have been a mere haphazard one, because this capacity as NATO rapporteur is a chance for me. First, it is a chance for me personally, but it is also a chance for ensuring that Romania has a voice to represent it in an important international body. In this respect, I would have thought that national interests take first place, and I expected that the normal reaction of the executive power would be to support me. Instead, we are witnessing the very opposite reaction. Actually, it is all a frame-up. A frame-up which, if it had not come from the prime minister's Control Corps, would have been totally ridiculous. Therefore, my opinion is that this coincidence is not haphazard.

[Filip] Is the position of the Vacaroiu government so weak that it has to resort to such a frame-up to preserve its credibility with the electorate?

[Roman] I believe that this is part of what they are able to do. This is what they know; they were taught how to do it, and they are doing it.

[Filip] In a previous statement, you said that your current activity is part of an attempt to put together another majority. Are you thinking of forming a new governmental coalition?

[Roman] I am thinking of a realistic and pragmatic possibility for getting us out of the current impasse. Maybe this endeavor is doomed to failure, since the behavior to date of the current political majority has been pretty monolithic, especially on the truly important political issues of reform and counterreform. In spite of all this, I believe it is our duty to try to find a way out of the impasse. As the Americans say, "We must find a way out of the deadlock." Consequently, we are looking for such a way out and the solution suggested by us is to form a union, not only with the reformist parties that do not represent the majority in the current Parliament, but also with political forces and political figures and groupings, which definitively accept the idea of the country's renewal and might be drawn into such a union. That would mean stopping the dangerous trend of taking Romania back to the trademarks of the former regime and it would also mean relaunching the reformist line.

[Filip] One last question, Mr. Roman. Do you believe that a new censure motion might have a greater chance of success than the preceding one?

[Roman] It depends on the circumstances and the very concrete context of the moment. Against a background of social discontent, clearly perceived as such by the political groupings and politicians who realize that one cannot go on like that, such a motion censure might

emerge victorious. However, before such a situation comes up, if this context becomes apparent to everyone, then one may reach the same result through political negotiations.

PNTCD Expresses View on Admitting Former King

AU1511191393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/1993—"It is just possible that the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] should not participate in the Alba Iulia celebration of the Great Union Day, if the government does not allow Romania's former sovereign to attend there", said Ion Diaconescu, first vice-president of the party, during the Monday, November 15 news briefing. Saying that the PNTCD would make a decision when the government announces its stand in that respect, party's president Corneliu Coposu announced that the other parties on the opposition would make their standpoint known after the November 16 meeting of the Democratic Convention.

Answering a question about the statement of the Democratic Union of Hungarians [UDMR] in Romania executive president statement that "the PNTCD has put some distance between it and the UDMR", PNTCD president Corneliu Coposu said: "It is not us but the UDMR that has put some distance between us, through some exaggerated claims. We have the same unitary conception adopted in 1918, according to which full equality of rights should be ensured to all minorities.

"But", the PNTCD leader went on, "we will never accept the challenging of the Romanian unitary national state, or that a minority language should become a second language in the Romanian state that has a 90 per cent majority Romanian population.

"The PNTCD declares its support to the just claims of the trade unions, but it considers that the strikes are not beneficial for the Romanian economy and solutions can be found through dialogue".

PSM Opposed to Ex-King's Visit

AU1611080293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/11/1993—The Socialist Party of Labour [PSM] considers that Romania's national day ceremony should be held in a decent spirit of national conciliation without excessive pomp, said PSM Vice President Tudor Mohora at a press conference on Monday. The presence of former King Mihai the First at the December 1 ceremony is considered by PSM as unnecessary. Tudor Mohora said that it could be employed by certain political forces and a political propaganda trait could be stuck to the anniversary.

PSM President Ilie Verdet stated that support to that visit would mean an act of defiance of Romania's constitution and order of law.

PSM Senator Adrian Paunescu said that "nobody's presence in Romania is dangerous but this is not the moment to change a national celebration into a conflict... PSM does not reject Mihai's coming as an ordinary citizen and, be that the case, he does not need government approval. The PSM rejects the intentions of certain political forces of receiving the former king with unearned honors."

Parliament Heads Receive Kazakhstan Delegation

AU1611061693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1754 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/11/1993—The Romanian Senate's President Oliviu Gherman together with the deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Dan Martian received on Monday a parliamentary delegation of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan making an official visit in Romania over November 15-19.

The two parties expressed hope that the current visit represent an important moment triggering mutually beneficial relations. The Romanian party stressed the importance attached by Romania to its relations with the former members of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan holding a significant role among them. There are sufficient reasons for a fruitful cooperation between Romania and Kazakhstan able to inaugurate an "open-doors era," Oliviu Gherman said.

Izetbegovic Continues Tour, Notes Army's Strength

AU1611114093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, accompanied by his aides, has been visiting Bugojno and Travnik. He spoke to his hosts about the current situation in these two towns as well as the political future of our country. Mirsad Kulender reports:

[Kulender] Cordially welcomed on his entire trip through the free territories of our country, President Izetbegovic was welcomed by the people and the fighters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the same enthusiasm in both Bugojno and Travnik. This was at the same time support for the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was expressed in direct talks with the people and fighters, and the talks with officials, representatives of the Travnik region, Bugojno, and Gornji and Donji Vakuf.

Asked by those present to express his impressions, or at least some of them, of his trip to the free territories, President Izetbegovic stressed that in the past period the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has become stronger, that despite the enemy's supremacy in hardware and manpower the fighters on the front lines at Gornji Vakuf, Olovo, Gradacac, Maglaj, and the free territories of Brcko are fighting wisely, courageously, and with skill against both the Serbian-Montenegrin and the Croatian aggressors.

The combat activities in these regions, the numerous offensives by chetniks and ustashas have not stopped since the beginning of the war, but the aggressor has not succeeded with his intentions. Morale and firm resolve to defend the dignity of the people are the guarantee that they will persevere in this struggle until the end.

Particularly impressive, President Izetbegovic said, is the great human dignity of our people, regardless of the crimes committed against them, and the unity of all those involved in the liberation struggle. No one is even thinking about laying down their arms until our people have been liberated, or at least the people that make up the majority, the Muslim people. The Serbian-Montenegrin and the Croatian aggressors have become united. This has been demonstrated on many occasions. The most recent one was the attack on Fojnica. However, this is a marriage of convenience and it will soon dissolve and disappear.

The same is happening to Fikret Abdic's insane ideas of separatism. The territory that he controls is determined by the amount of money he has to buy people with the help from Serbia and Croatia, as well as their propaganda. However, these (?mercenaries) have realized their mistakes and are fleeing or surrendering.

President Izetbegovic thanked his hosts for their welcome, above all the people and the fighters, (Dzevad Blaso), president of the Bugojno commune, Mehmet Alagic, commander of the 3d Corps, and Imam Effendi Takalovic.

President Izetbegovic also visited the el-Jihad unit of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the 3d Muslim Brigade and spent some time talking to them, saying that they should be merciless toward the enemy and humane and considerate toward the weak, the elderly, women, and children, because we are not an army that kills civilians, destroys religious buildings, rapes, or carries out genocide. Those who do that have no future. Their army carries a moral burden.

President Alija Izetbegovic also held talks with his hosts in Travnik, with Zihmija Aganovic, president of the Travnik Okrug [administrative district], Muhamed Curic, president of the Assembly, and the commander of the Krajina Operations Group.

As in Bugojno, they discussed the political situation in our country. They stressed two points: the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the expulsion of the aggressor, and the political struggle in which the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a factor of integration with its superior political and economic model.

During the talks in Travnik it was also said that the struggle for all the industrial and economic potentials—which have not been destroyed in this town—represents a step forward in the creation of our own legal state, and the struggle against crime, as well as every part of the sown land. What is a problem is the question of food for survival, considering that there are some 27,000 refugees living in the region.

President Izetbegovic received representatives of the Banja Luka Okrug, who have their seat in Travnik, and expressed satisfaction with the efficiency of the fighters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Krajina. He visited the 17th Krajina Brigade and expressed satisfaction with their efficiency. He also visited the wounded and wished them speedy recovery. During the talks the representatives from Travnik stressed that the persecution of Muslims by Rajic's and Kordic's fighters is (?terrible), as is the suffering of the people and the grave medical situation for the 16,000 residents on the free territory.

Adil Effendi Lozo, representative of the Islamic community, and Mufti [name indistinct] Effendi Abdibegovic briefed Mr. Izetbegovic on the development of this region, a new concept of organization, and the preservation and revival of the traditions of the Muslim people in this region.

Izetbegovic Sees UNPROFOR Failing Mission

PM1511162093 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 Nov 93 p A10

[Report on interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic by Anders Hellberg in Tuzla; date not given]

[Text] Tuzla—"The UN forces in Bosnia must be given a broader mandate. Today they unable either to protect the food convoys or to guarantee that delegations in our country are able to move freely," Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told DAGENS NYHETER during his visit to the Tuzla region in northeastern Bosnia.

He was visiting Tuzla together with his commander in chief and the head of the 2d Army Corps, which is recruited from Tuzla.

The Bosnian president believes that with a broader mandate for the UNPROFOR forces the United Nations ought to have greater scope to intervene between the warring factions and enforce peace. This is what is called "peace enforcement," instead of peacekeeping where the United Nations simply defends itself.

[Hellberg] Mr. President, would you prefer to see the United Nations being given the opportunity to directly enforce peace?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, I have long been asking that UNPROFOR be given such an opportunity.

[Hellberg] Do you think that today the United Nations is carrying out its mission which is based on protecting humanitarian convoys and creating protected zones?

[Izetbegovic] No, it is not. It is unable to protect these transports into Bosnia. In my view, the United Nations and the world community today have a duty to see to it that humanitarian aid reaches its destination. Since the world is implementing an arms embargo against us we are unable to defend ourselves fully against our attackers. This means that the world has involved itself in the conflict and must see to it that our people are able to survive.

[Hellberg] So you think that the United Nations is not doing its job of protecting people in Bosnia?

[Izetbegovic] No, it is not. There was an example only two days ago, when an international delegation, including a Catholic priest, was unable to move freely inside our borders.

[Hellberg] How would you describe the military situation for your country today?

[Izetbegovic] From our viewpoint the military situation is satisfactory. We expect to be able to liberate our country. We have many volunteers who want to fight for our country's freedom and for justice. But we have certain technical problems as a result of the arms embargo against us. For our opponents the situation is the exact opposite. They have lots of arms, but fewer and fewer people who are willing to take part in the fighting on our territory.

War is not the only solution, only if there is no other way of solving our problems. Our army is also protecting women and children, and is following all the international conventions. It is our opponents' armies that are committing all the crimes. I am proud to be able to state that there is not a single example of our forces being guilty of similar crimes. [Izetbegovic ends]

Here Izetbegovic is clearly referring to the massacre in the Muslim village of Stupni Do south of Vares which was committed by Croatian forces and to different sorts of ethnic cleansing directed against Bosnian Muslims of which the Bosnian Serbs are guilty.

Unlike the Bosnian president, the head of the Nordic battalion, Colonel Ulf Henricsson, considers that "all sides are guilty of excesses."

[Hellberg] Mr. President, is your country able today to deal with the ever more difficult refugee situation as winter approaches?

[Izetbegovic] No, we cannot do so alone, because our country has been destroyed and the economy is paralyzed. What UNPROFOR is doing is not enough. Today we are only receiving 20 to 25 percent of what is necessary to feed refugees and the people. [Izetbegovic ends]

It can be noted that Alija Izetbegovic does not mention the UN refugee organization, UNHCR, but instead criticizes the UNPROFOR. He considers that it is the task of UNPROFOR to give sufficient protection to the humanitarian transports.

UNPROFOR's position the whole time has been that it is not the role of the armed forces to deal with the refugee situation. Swedish Supreme Commander bengt Gustafsson has raised with UNPROFOR's leadership the possibility of civilian UN administration for certain areas, such as Vares.

Government To File Charges Over Arms Embargo

LD1511225093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2221 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] New York, November 15 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem Ambassador to the United Nations (U.N.) Muhamed Secirbegovic on Monday said that his government would file charges with the World Court against Great Britain for allegedly failing to prevent genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for opposing the exemption of this former Yugoslav Republic from the embargo on arms deliveries to the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Secirbegovic read a statement to the press in which he underscored that this was only the beginning, and that other countries which also oppose the lifting of the embargo can expect similar charges.

Great Britain refused to prevent genocide "against the people and state of Bosnia and Herzegovina" and is "an aider and abettor to genocide" by actively opposing all efforts by other countries to lift this "illegal" embargo on weapons, said Secirbegovic. Secirbegovic described the arms embargo as illegal in spite of the fact that the U.N. Security Council imposed it in late September 1991 following the forcible secessions of the former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Secirbegovic spoke about genocide against the people and state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the exemption of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the arms embargo, although he represents only Bosnian Moslems who are fighting Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats.

Asked why he had chosen Great Britain, when other countries were also opposed to the lifting of the arms embargo, Secirbegovic said that United States President Bill Clinton had privately said that the British were the ones most opposed to the lifting of this embargo.

The U.S. is the only country which was sympathetic towards the Bosnian Moslems' request to be exempt from the arms embargo. This demand is a constant issue in the international approach of Bosnian Moslems since the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina broke out in April 1992.

Reporters showered Secirbegovic with provocative questions, which he tried to answer with much difficulty. Many expressed the opinion that the Moslem diplomat's move was "suicidal."

Herceg-Bosna Government Holds First Session

LD1511193593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Report from Mostar by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna held its first regular session in Mostar, which was quiet today. The session was chaired by Mate Boban, president of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna. In his opening speech he particularly stressed the need to completely establish a legal order, that is, for the bodies of authority to act on suppressing all forms of illegal activities, especially crime.

According to prime minister Jadranko Prlic, the government is going to draw up a new program before the next assembly session, with the main objective of building a legal system and defending the rights of the Croat people not only on the territory of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna but also in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Army Notes Change in HVO Military Command

LD1511215293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] has recently made changes in their military leadership; due to failures on Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefields, General Slobodan Praljak was relieved of his duties and a general of the Croatian [Republic of Croatia] Army, Ante Roso, took over his position.

The new head of the HVO Main Headquarters, after many years spent out of the country, joined the Foreign Legion units and was an officer in the 2d Parachute Regiment in the legion. After the Yugoslav aggression against the Republic of Croatia, Roso returned to the country and became one of the first generals of the Croatian Army and the commander of special units.

His appointment as the head of the HVO Main Headquarters proves once again the involvement of the Republic of Croatia in the war on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By relieving the extremist Praljak of duty and appointing the even more extreme Roso, the HVO chose the war option in resolving the crisis in our country, the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center says.

Zenica, Tuzla Remain 'Firmly' Behind Government

AU1511081693 Paris AFP in English 0112 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 15 (AFP)—Local leaders in Bosnia's industrial heartland are standing firmly behind the Sarajevo government despite speculation they could follow the example of secessionist Moslems in the northwest. Bosnian Serbs had predicted the area around this once-thriving northeastern city would go the way of the Bihac pocket, which struck a separate peace with Serbs and Croats last month.

The report, citing alleged disenchantment with Sarajevo's "fundamentalist Islamic policies," received sufficient currency to prompt Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic to issue an open letter decrying the "disinformation and propaganda." Beslagic pledged support for a unified Bosnia and told AFP in a weekend interview: "Tuzla never wanted autonomy. We have always supported the policies of the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Besim Spahic, mayor of the Moslem stronghold of Zenica southwest of here, was even more adamant and condemned the Bihac move as part of an international plot to break up the country.

"This is one of the many tricks of the western politicians who are trying to cheat us," Spahic said last week. "There is no possibility a similar occurrence will happen in central Bosnia."

Tuzla and Zenica have about 375,000 people betwen them, including some 100,000 refugees. Both used to have large Serb and Croat populations but are now 80 percent Moslem.

With food, fuel and other essentials blockaded for seven months by Croats to the south and a hard winter

approaching, the cities have in desperation begun separate trade talks with the Serbs. Spahic is offering products from his currently closed steelworks. Beslagic said Tuzla may provide chemicals if he also gets raw materials. Both insist they have clearance from the Moslem-led government of President Alija Izetbegovic.

But despite all assurances, Izetbegovic is clearly anxious to shore up his support in the centre and avoid a spillover of the Bihac revolt led by businessman Fikret Abdic. Izetbegovic visited Tuzla for three days last week, his first trip here since the Bosnian conflict broke out more than 19 months ago, and then stopped in on Zenica.

To replace Abdic in the collective presidency he named Nijaz Durakovic, chief of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of former communists, which shares power in Tuzla with Beslagic's left-wing Reformists.

Although it has worked hard to modulate its previously ferevnt Moslem nationalism, Izetbegovic's Democratic Action Party (SDA) has not fared well in this bastion of multi-ethnic sentiment. The SDA won barely 20 percent of the vote in the November 1990 city elections in Tuzla, where residents are more economically minded and pragmatic than ideological.

Moslems and Croats are still cooperating militarily up here while battling it our elsewhere in Central Bosnia. Beslagic, 51, was the director of construction materials research institute before becoming mayor three years ago.

Beslagic denied suggestions of any rift between his city and Sarajevo, but accused Izetbegovic of paying too little attention to communities outside the devastated and besieged capitol. "He concentrates his attention on Sarajevo as does the whole world," the mayor said. "There is no Bosnia-Herzegovina without Sarajevo but there is also no Bosnia without Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Banja Luka and other cities."

Tuzla feels particularly isolated, with inbound phone communications cut and outbound calls possible only to Zenica and on rare occasions to Sarajevo.

Earlier this year, Beslagic was invited to the Geneva peace talks by mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, who were trying to win acceptance of their ethnic partition plan for Bosnia. The move triggered speculation that the European Community and United Nations negotiators wers seeking to use him to put pressure on Izetbegovic and the Sarajevo Bosnians to sign.

Beslagic denies this but has less-than-complimentary words for the co-chairmen of the Geneva peace conference, who he says still fail to realise the Bosnian conflict is a case of Serb aggression. "We have a feeling Owen and Stoltenberg are fed up with the war," he said. "They will do anything to make a peace settlement. If the settlement is not a success they can blame somebody."

Government Expresses Regret Over Priests' Deaths

AU1511193293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] The extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] planned and carried out a fierce offensive on Fojnica precisely as Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, and Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, were holding talks and agreeing to refrain from all combat activity until a global agreement on military issues is reached, reads a statement for the public issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government today.

Unfortunately, the Fojnica Guardian Father Nikola Milicevic and Maro Mikic, vicar of the Fojnica monastery, were killed in the course of the artillery attack perpetrated by the HVO extremists against Fojnica. They are new, innocent victims and yet another bloody result of the policy which wishes to undermine the foundations of Bosnia and the centuries-long joint existence in these areas, the symbol and guardians of which were precisely embodied by the Franciscan friars in Bosnia. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government expresses deep regret at the loss of Guardian Father Nikola Milicevic and Vicar Father Mare Mikic and will undertake all measures possible in order to shed light on the circumstances of this crime and punish the guilty parties, reads the statement.

Western Bosnian Agency Reports on Army 'Dissenters'

LD1511171793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 15 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bihac, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Forces of the Moslem Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia on Sunday and Monday pushed back the invading forces loyal to hardline Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, inflicting heavy casualties, the Western Bosnian news agency ZBIA reports. In addition, 35 Izetbegovic's troops have crossed over to the Western Bosnian side, ZBIA says.

ZBIA reports also about fighting among Izetbegovic's loyalists in Bihac, who are trading accusations of responsibility for an unsuccessful mobilization. The number of dissenters in Izetbegovic's ranks is growing, with troops threatening to defect, dissatisfied with irregular payments, inadequate rations and bad warfare conditions.

The Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, which was proclaimed in the sprawling Moslem region of Cazinska Krajina in late September, has elected as its president Fikret Abdic, a bitter opponent of Izetbegovic's bellicose policy. Abdic advocates coexistence of Bosnia's Moslems, Serbs and Croats, and has already

signed separate peace agreements with the other two nations, something Izetbegovic has been refusing to do for months.

The army loyal to Izetbegovic has responded to the proclamation of the region's autonomy by launching an attack on the province, and the fighting has so far claimed more than a hundred dead and wounded on both sides.

'Joint Aggressors' Attack Olovo; Helicopters Used

AU1611101293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Velid Djindo report from the Olovo Press Center]

[Excerpt] Yesterday's fierce enemy offensive on Olovo, in which the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor employed the Drina, Krajina, East Bosnian, and Sarajevo-Romanija Corps and two armored-mechanized battalions, was the fiercest offensive so far on the glorious Olovo front.

Thousands of the most destructive tank, howitzer, mortar, gun, and multiple rocket launcher shells landed on the fighters' positions at Pakici, Krusevo, and Kamenjaca and the region in and around Crna Rijeka. In this hell of violence and bestiality, the defenders of Olovo demonstrated once again their heroism and indestructibility. They stoically withstood a powerful attack by the aggressor's combat helicopters, which targeted Pakici-Krusevo lines with maljutkas [guided missiles] for more than two hours.

On the southwest approaches to Olovo, dozens of the aggressor's fighters were put out of action. There were a fairly large number of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] fighters from Vares among them.

The [word indistinct] and snowy night was followed by a infernal morning. The joint aggressors are continuing their attacks on the free territory of Olovo. [passage omitted]

Serb Offensive Threatens Bosnian Army Supply Lines

AU1511193993 Paris AFP in English 1929 GMT 15 Nov 93

[By Peter Mackler]

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Government forces are scrambling to counter what they call a major Serb push near the central town of Vares just taken by Sarajevo's Moslem-led troops from the Croats.

Senior officers of the Bosnian Army's 2nd Corps said the Serbs, using artillery, mortar, anti-aircraft weapons, tanks and infantry, had captured several villages southeast of Vares in recent days. They said the Serbs appeared intent on cutting government supply lines running from central Bosnia through Vares and to Tuzla in the northeast of the former Yugoslav republic.

The Serbs could also be preparing for a drive across central Bosnia to link up their holdings in the southeast and northwest and divide government territory in two, the officers said. "It is a very strong offensive with very strong forces," Angelko Makar, 2nd Corps chief of staff, told AFP at his headquarters here. "We are trying to stop and break this offensive."

He said the 2nd Corps was sending down reinforcements to try to hook up with the Bosnian Army's 3rd Corps and 6th Corps to combat one of the Serbs' biggest drives in several months.

Officers of the United Nations Protection Force's (UNPROFOR's) Nordic battalion could not confirm reports of the Serb offensive. One officer said only, "We hear a lot of shooting in the area."

The Serbs, who control 70 percent of Bosnia after more than 19 months of war, had been content to sit on their gains while government and Croat forces battled it out in central Bosnia. But UNPROFOR officers had warned the Serbs could take advantage of the disarray around Vares, a former Croat stronghold taken by the Bosnians on November 4, to mount a new push.

They said the Serbs, whose lines lay just south and east of Vares, might try to drive northwest across the 20 kilometres (13 miles) of government territory towards the Serb-besieged town of Maglaj. The aim would be a link between Serbia and Serb-held areas of Bosnia and Croatia to supplement a northern corridor through the town of Brcko they spent months unsuccesfully trying to widen.

Makar said the immediate Serb goal was to cut the Bosnian lines that ran from the key industrials cities of Zenica in the centre to Tuzla. "Yes they want it for sure and they are trying to do it," he said. But he also acknowledged the possibility of a Serb push towards Maglaj even if the mountain terrain made the going tough.

He said the Serbs could follow the Krivaja River which runs past Olovo, east of Vares, to Maglaj. "It is not hard if they take the main heights," said Makar, 46, a 20-year veteran of the army who has been 2nd Corps chief of staff for a year.

Heavy fighting was reported by both sides around Olovo and the Serbs said intense clashes occurred around Kladanj to the north. Bosnia officers said the Serbs had taken a string of villages east of Vares in recent days, including Zubeta, Ravne, Kamenica, Drincici and Crna Rijeka. They said Moslem refugees fleeing the area reported a massacre of villagers in Crna Rijeka but had no details. There was no confirmation of the report.

Makar said the Serbs launched their offensive after making overtures for a ceasefire around Brcko. He said they simply wanted to stabilise that front to bring troops down to the centre.

The 2nd Corps chief of staff said the Serbs were using T-55 and M-84 tanks in their assault. UNPROFOR officers said they heard the boom of what might be tank fire but they were not sure.

Despite being outgunned, Makar was confident his forces could halt the Serbs. "We had more serious offensives than this one and we stopped them," he said.

6th Corps Confirms Army Holding Fojnica

AU1511153493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] In reaction to the information broadcast last night by certain foreign media about the alleged fall of Fojnica, the 6th Corps press center reports that the city is in the hands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Our units have halted the enemy offensive, strengthened their lines, and, on some parts of the front, have established conditions for a decisive counterattack.

Muslim Forces Open Front in Kresevo Area

LD1511223493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Fighting has begun in the Kresevo area. According to the HVO Main Headquarters, this morning the Muslim Army launched an attack on HVO positions in Mejoriste and Golubac in the Kresevo municipality. The positions have been retained and the Muslim Army suffered considerable losses. [passage omitted]

Army Withstands HVO Offensive on Gornji Vakuf

AU1611132293 Paris AFP in English 1308 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 16 (AFP)—Some 4,000 Croat troops took part in a massive tank and helicopter-backed HVO offensive on the government-held central Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf, a UN Protection Force spokesman said Tuesday [16 November]. Croat gunners sent down a barrage of some 550 heavy artillery shells on the town, 70 kilometres (45 miles) west of Sarajevo, said UNPROFOR spokesman Lt. Col. Bill Aikman.

Up to 15 tanks took part in the attack, which followed weekend reports by UN military officials that Bosnian Serbs had been running a "rent-a-tank" operation for Croat forces in the Croat-controlled Kiseljak pocket.

British UN troops in the area took to their bunkers because of the severity of the barrage, and only emerged around 3:00 p.m. (1400 GMT) when the offensive was halted, Aikman added.

Croat forces used a helicopter to spot artillery targets and troop movement along the 13-kilometre (eight-mile) front by the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army, said Aikman. But despite the concerted assault government troops had held their line, he said. Gornji Vakuf was reported calm Tuesday morning, he added.

The town occupies a strategic position on supply routes linking northern and southern Bosnia, secure control of which would enable the land-locked Bosnian army to resupply and re-equip its embattled forces. It could also help it resupply its forces in embattled towns in the largely Croat-held south of the country, notably Mostar. [passage omitted]

HVO Eliminates Muslim Groups Near Gornji Vakuf

LD1411134393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 14 Nov 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Siroki Brijeg]

[Text] The main command of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] announced today that HVO units discovered and eliminated two Muslim terrorist groups in the vicinity of Gornji Vakuf early this morning. These groups attempted to operate behind the HVO's defense lines, causing panic and chaos among the civilian population of northwestern Herzegovina.

Five members of these terrorist groups were killed and two were taken prisoner. The prisoners confessed that their objective was to carry out sabotage operations on the road between the villages of Boljkovac and Dobrosin. The statement also says that the slain terrorists were in civilian clothes and without any personal documents.

Two members of the HVO died in the fighting with these terrorist groups. Following this incident, the main command of the HVO warned the population of Herceg-Bosna to be alert and take all precautions.

HVO Reports on Clashes With Muslim Units

LD1511131593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Muslim forces attempted early this morning to infiltrate larger subversive groups to the rear positions of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] on the Uskoplje and Rama battlefield. They then carried out an infantry attack on Makljen, attempting to cut off the Prozor-Gornji Vakuf road, says a statement issued by the political department of the Ministry of Defense of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna today.

The statement says that despite a cease-fire that was agreed to at the demand of the British UNPROFOR

[UN Protection Forces] troops, the Muslim forces were on a ferocious offensive against the HVO yesterday and last night, particularly on the Uskoplje and Rama battlefield, around Kiseljak, and on other battlefields. In addition to these constant attacks, the Muslim army has been noticed to be continuously receiving reinforcements and regrouping.

Three members of the HVO were wounded in a Muslim artillery attack on the village of Trnovac, while four HVO soldiers were killed and six others wounded in yesterday's attack by the Muslim forces in the Uskoplje area. HVO units were forced to retaliate energetically, the statement by the Ministry of Defense says, stressing that UNPROFOR was informed this morning about the Muslim army attacks and was asked to mediate so that the fighting would stop. UNPROFOR was also informed that HVO units were forced to retaliate.

According to initial reports coming from the Uskoplje and Rama battlefield, HVO forces have taken the initiative, inflicting heavy losses on the Muslim army. Muslim soldiers have been noticed to be fleeing their positions.

The main headquarters of the HVO announced today that the Muslim forces, while withdrawing from Fojnica before the HVO forces' advance to the approaches to the town, killed two priests early this morning, Father Nikica Milicevic, abbot of the Franciscan monastery, and Friar Mato Mikic. While withdrawing from Fojnica, the Muslim army killed a large number of Croat civilians, the statement by the main headquarters of the HVO claims.

Article Views Balance of Political Power

AU1511152693 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Nov 93 pp 2, 10

[Unattributed article: "The Serbs Have Started Building a Belgrade-Benkovac Railroad"]

[Text] The last thing that the Croats of Vares needed was the massacre of civilians that occurred on 28 October in the village of Stupni Do, 3 km south of Vares, deep in the territory under the control of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces. Representatives of Herzeg-Bosnia have denied the possibility that HVO forces might be responsible, but the [UN] Security Council condemnation has sealed the final verdict. It may be that it will not soon be found out who is directly responsible for the massacre, but whoever planned, organized, and carried it out committed a crime that will have far-reaching consequences and a disastrous effect on the position of the besieged Croats in Vares and the surrounding area. There are 22,500 Croats facing winter with no food stocks, no medicine or fuel, and no accommodation for thousands of refugees.

Part of the Vares commune that has been under Croatian control following the withdrawal of the crushed HVO forces of Kakanj and Catici, is now 80-percent surrounded by Muslims, and the other 20 percent borders the area controlled by the forces of the Romanija corps of the Serb republic's army. Those responsible for the massacre at Stupni Do will therefore cause more tension in the relations between the HVO of Kakanj and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which will be highly unfavorable for the Croatian side. The 25 killed and 250 expelled civilians, and the 52 burnt-down houses will make the unenviable position of the Croats in this small central Bosnian mining town even worse, and they will be at the mercy of the Serbs to an even greater extent than before.

With the events in Vares and the massacre at Stupni Do, the following questions arise: Who is really fighting on the territories of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, against whom are they fighting, and have the three warring sides clearly defined their goals and interests?

The Rich Serbs Crushed the Soldier Rebellion

There is no doubt that the Serb side has had clearly defined political and military goals from the very beginning of the war. Though great internal disagreements can be discerned within the Serb bloc, they relate exclusively to internal issues, the struggle for power, and the influence over smuggling and black-market activities within the Serb republic.

The Bosnian Krajina with Banja Luka is, in terms of manpower and its military and technological potential, the most powerful part of the Serb republic. Though the "Bosnian Krajina frontiersmen" have suffered the heaviest casualties on the Serb side in this war, their influence on the power structure within the territory under Serb control has remained relatively weak.

The war profiteers in the Bosnian Krajina acquired their wealth through activities on the Serb people, while the deserving fighters had to settle for the much more modest, individual looting of the houses of expelled Croats and Muslims. Moreover, this source of income has run almost completely dry. After the recent attempt at a military coup in Banja Luka, the situation has become even more favorable for Radovan Karadzic, as he, relying primarily on the newly rich, managed to crush the rebellion of the soldiers, headed by Ostoja Zec, without bloodshed.

The leading people around Radovan Karadzic supervised the plundering of the property of the biggest companies in Bosnia- Herzegovina. For the needs of the new Serbian state, 3,500 [Volkswagen] Golfs were taken from Vogosca alone! All attempts at imposing Banja Luka as the administrative, cultural, and military center of the Bosnian Serbs have failed. In return for complete loyalty to Pale, Karadzic gave the locals in power from Semberija and eastern Herzegovina complete power at local level, and thus managed to neutralize the main competitors in Banja Luka.

Though in his rule he continues to rely greatly on the army and its number one, General Mladic, Karadzic has, as the chances of a military solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina decrease, started to rely on the

newly-made rich Serbs and their financial power. However, all these intra-Serb tensions will change neither their policy toward the other two national communities in Bosnia- Herzegovina, nor their policy toward Belgrade. Though it is not yet known if the organizers of the military coup in Banja Luka were members of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, or the reasons were the terrible social conditions in which the soldiers and the families of the Banja Luka corps members live, it was the first time that the power of the Sarajevo psychiatrist [Karadzic] was shaken, at least for a moment.

Abdic Has the Key to Supplies [subhead]

On the Muslim side, Alija Izetbegovic has more of a media personality than a truly dangerous opponent in Fikret Abdic. Aided by the media in Zagreb and Belgrade, with the obvious intention to take over power in the free part of the Bihac region, the Babo [Abdic's nickneame] of Velika Kladusa has declared the autonomous province of western Bosnia of the territories of Bihac, Cazin, Bosanska Krupa, and Velika Kladusa, though, realistically speaking, he controls only the commune of Velika Kladusa.

The attempt by the national defense forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia to take power in the Cazin commune through military means has failed with the conflict at Cazin and in the village of Curalici, near Velika Kladusa. It would have been unrealistic to expect that Abdic's forces would manage to gain control over the area by force, as before the conflict broke out and the new state-forming unit within the union of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina was declared, Fikret Abdic controlled only the police force in his municipality and the Velika Kladusa brigade, a not-very-well-trained military unit. However, during the Serb raid on the territory of Velika Kladusa last summer, they did manage to halt the enemy and recover the territory lost, with help from Bihac and Cazin.

The main argument that Babo could have used in seizing power is the extremely poor situation with supplies. There are some 308,000 people who are besieged, and only one route for the delivery of humanitarian aid: Karlovac-Vojnic-Velika Kladusa-Cazin-Bihac. For the time being, the key to the supplies for the entire region lies in the hands of Abdic. The information on genocide and ethnic cleansing of Muslims carried out by members of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are obviously the result of his badly organized propaganda. The reason for all the battles (Coralici, Skokovi, Kudici, and Johovica) was the Cazin-Velika Kladusa connection, since Ramiz Drekovic, the commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, wants to take control of communications through Bosnia-Herzegovina and thereby take away from Abdic the strongest weapon in the power struggle in this Bosnian enclave.

The forces loyal to the government in Sarajevo are militarily and politically dominant, but they have not decided to enter into a brutal military conflict with the dissidents of Velika Kladusa. If Abdic's fraction wins, the Serb side will, in return for the good services, probably be granted free passage via the Una railroad, which is at present controlled by the Bihac Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

A Railroad across all the "Serb Lands"

The recently adopted project for connecting all the Serb lands by a railroad shows how important this stretch is to the Serbs.

A railroad is being built from Milosevac in Bosanska Posavina, through Brcko and on to Bijeljina, and thus a direct railroad will connect Banja Luka and Belgrade through Sid. If the Serbs are given part of the Una railroad, they will be able to establish a direct connection between Benkovac and Belgrade, which would not run through any Croat-controlled territory.

This communication is more important to the Serbs than the Zagreb-Belgrade highway, as they will not have to give any direct territorial or political concessions to Croatia in this case, and they can satisfy Abdic by opening the roads for Agrokomerc trucks from Kladusa to the free zone in the Rijeka port, which is anticipated under the present agreement.

The worst scenario for the Croats in the Bihac region, and also for the Croatian state, would be a Serb decision to start "liberating" the Una railroad once Abdic's and Izetbegovic's followers are exhausted by the fighting, if the agreements on communications cannot be implemented. Considering the present balance of forces, this is not an unrealistic possibility.

The ending of the intra-Muslim conflict is not in sight, and the unreserved support of the Bihac HVO commander for Abdic's forces, despite the fact that some 3.5 percent of the Croat population in the Bihac municipality is besieged by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces, and they have some 600 fighters, comes as a surprise. If the conflicts continue, they would not be able to withstand the forces controlled by Ramiz Drekovic.

The small Croatian enclave should have remained neutral in this conflict, especially since there are 60,000 Muslim refugees in the region who are in a desperate position, and it is easy to radicalize them. This is what happened in central Bosnia, and it was fatal for the Croats. Those Muslims expelled from Prijedor, Krupa, and Kljuc favor Alija Izetbegovic, who, unlike Abdic, will not sign any agreement to cede their towns to the Serb republic.

There is no organized political opposition among the Muslims in Sarajevo, only in the Bihac region—despite the despair caused by hunger and poverty. Dissatisfaction with the Muslim authorities has been greatest in Sarajevo itself, mostly because of crime and anarchy. The reputation of the present Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency was greatly improved by the action of the police loyal to the authorities, in which the former commander

of the Tenth Hill Brigade was killed, and the other most powerful leaders of the city mafia arrested.

Theory on KOS Conspiracy Failed

Other conflicts in the Muslim bloc are no greater than the internal tensions between the central and local authorities, if these relations are at all maintained in the Bosnia-Herzegovina chaos.

At present chaos does reign in the territory controlled by the Muslim forces, but it is a chaos at the level of an uncompromising struggle for mere survival. If the supply of humanitarian aid continues, on which the European Community—including France, the greatest obstacle to a more determined involvement of the international community in the Balkans—has taken a firm stand, the present Muslim authorities will probably remain in power, without any chance of any political agreement without Izetbegovic's consent.

All attempts at finding a partner for a final agreement with the Muslims, in the persons of Fikret Abdic or Armin Pohara, have been a waste of time. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is still loyal to Sarajevo, and all the existing Muslim corps are under the command of Rasim Delic. From the time of the change in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command, when Major Sefer Halilovic was removed from the top position and Rasim Delic appointed as his superior, the activities of the Muslim forces have been coordinated and more efficient.

Although he lost Igman and Trnovo upon becoming head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Delic has had significant success in the fighting against the HVO forces, obviously knowing the relation between his forces and those of the opponents quite well, as he did in no way exhaust his forces in battles with the far superior Serbs, in which he would have no chance of success.

The HVO thesis on the alleged KOS [Yugoslav Counter-intelligence Service] conspiracy in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army command, and Sefer Halilovic as the main KOS agent provoking Croat-Muslim conflicts, has thus failed, as it was only after Sefer Halilovic left his position that the Croats faced with the greatest problems. The position of the eastern Bosnian enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Zepa, which the Serbs had militarily neutralized, has no significant influence either on Muslim policies or on the military engagement of the Muslim forces. They have been placed under UN protectorate, and they will remain in this position until a final agreement is reached.

As opposed to the situation in the Muslim enclaves, the besieged Croats do not have this privileged status; theirs varies from town to town, and the moves of the commanders on the ground sometimes do not match the prospective solutions to the crisis.

In the Bihac area, the HVO, which until recently was fighting within the 5th Corps, gave its support to Fikret Abdic through their commander Vlado Santic. It was only verbal support, from the Croatian Television studio in Zagreb, but there has been no precise information on what is happening and how the surrounded battalion is holding out.

The Disaster at Stupni Do

In the remaining free part of Bosanska Posavina the Croats and Muslims are still fighting together against the Serbs. This is the only part of Bosnia-Herzegovina where Croats are in the majority, and Muslims fight within their formations. In all the other HVO-controlled areas, Muslims and Muslim troops have been disarmed. On the other side of the corridor, the remaining Croats in Bosanska Posavina, in parts of Brcko, Gracanica, Gradacac, Tuzla, Kalesija, Zivinice, and Banovici, have been fighting within the Tuzla Corps—in the lower echelons of the HVO corps, or directly in Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units.

The situation with the Croats of Usora is more complex. Within the 110th HVO Brigade, they belong to the Tuzla Corps, that is, to the 7th Operative Group South. So far, they have had no conflicts with the Muslims, nor have they been exposed to direct Muslim attack. However, only some 20 km to the south, the 111th HVO Zepce Brigade, under the command of Ivo Lozancic, has been successfully fighting the Muslims. According to foreign and Muslim sources, the Croats and Serbs have managed to establish close economic and military cooperation aimed against the Muslims. The Serbs have allegedly helped the HVO by giving them weapons and ammunition, while the Zepce HVO in turn let them pass through their territory, toward the semi-besieged Ozren. The 111th HVO Brigade has been commended for its success by the HVO Command Center.

Zepce is nearly 90-percent surrounded by Muslim forces, and reliance on the Serbs is therefore understandable. South of Zepce, on territory controlled by the Zenica Corps, all the HVO troops are surrounded by Muslim enemy forces. Following the disarming of the HVO of Zenica and Kakanj, most of the people withdrew toward Vares. According to the claims of the Croats of Vares, there had been no problems with the Muslims until the Kakanj refugees arrived, when there was an attempt to set a mosque on fire. After the calvary they had gone through, this attempt at revenge did not at all help the Croats crowded into Vares.

Aware that in any geographical combination they, like the Croats of Zepce, Usora, or the Tuzla region, will stay in the Muslim republic, the leaders of the Croats of Vares tried to preserve their good relations with the Muslims. The massacre at Stupni Do made the chances for surviving in these Muslim surroundings very small. It may be expected that new groups of Croatian refugees from Vares will soon start going toward Istria, across Serb territory.

The Ethnically Cleansed Banks of the Neretva River

The surrounded HVO forces at the Novi Travnik-Vitez-Busovaca territory have been fighting the Muslim forces of the Zenica and Igman Corps, while they have had no clashes with the Serbs. Further on, south along the Neretva River, the conflicts are mainly between the forces of the Mostar Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO of eastern Herzegovina. Apart from minor progress on the Mostar front and at the access to the city from the south, the results of months of fierce conflicts are the ethnically cleansed left and right banks of the Neretva River, and the heart of Mostar, for which the city was famous, completely destroyed.

The global situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is such that the Serbs have for the time being given up further conquests. Satisfied with the territories they control, they have stopped undertaking major action even against the Muslims. According to Radovan Karadzic's statements, they have not had any conflicts with the HVO for over a year, as they are now satisfied with the fact that they are charging handsome amounts of money for the convoys carrying humanitarian aid and Croatian refugees passing across their territories. Jadranko Prlic's recent visit to Banja Luka has brought nothing to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats except new refugee buses from the Banja Luka bishopric. Even under heavy sanctions, the Serbs are sure to find some way to survive; if nothing else, they can sell military equipment to the other two warring sides.

Therefore, apart from the Muslim war in the Cazin area, which has for the time being not assumed serious proportions, it is the Muslims and the Croats who are at war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Of the Muslim forces, the notorious Zenica Corps, which has redeployed from Igman towards the territories of central Bosnia, has been launching the most attacks, while the Muslim Corps of Mostar has been on the defensive.

The territories of the Republic of Croatia that are under the protection of the UN forces have a strategic importance for the situation in Bosnia. While Sector East has no direct military influence on the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, sectors West, North, and South are tampon zones that protect the Serbs—not only in Croatia, but also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The position of the UN forces is the best guarantee for the Bosnian Serbs that there will be no raids from Croatia, and it also contributes to the complete blockade of the Bihac Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which is still on hotile terms with Mladic's Serbian army.

Martic Forced To Compromise With Hadzic

The Posavina corridor is the only thing that keeps the rebel Croatian Serbs alive. Cutting the corridor would mean a sudden beginning of the total breakdown of the Knin para-state. This would happen if the traffic through the corridor were controlled by the HVO, that is, if Muslim-Croat military cooperation were reestablished. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs and the Serbs from the occupied areas in Croatia make up a unitary military-strategic group without normal political unification precisely because they need each other and depend on each other's military potential. The political arguments among the Serb Krajina leaders gathered round Goran Hadzic and Milan Martic are only fights over the oil wells at Djeletovci.

Hadzic is supported by the forces of the nearly disintegrated Krajina army under the command of Mile Novakovic, who was promoted from the position of a warehouseman to that of a brigadier general, while Martic has the smaller, but much better organized Serbian police forces. However, though Martic has stronger support in internal terms, he has been forced to compromise with Hadzic, who is openly supported by Arkan's armed formation in eastern Slavonia. Arkan and his people have real control over the everyday plundering of the oil from INA's [Croatian Oil Industry] springs. The most popular idea among the people in the political leadership of the rebel Serbs in Croatia is unification with the Bosnian Serbs.

For the time being they cooperate on military matters: Among other things, cadets from the so-called republic of Serb Krajina are attending the military school center in Banja Luka, under the command of Major General Slavko Lisica.

After the events at Vares, it was obvious once again that the world still considers the Muslims the only victims; the massacres at Doljani and the village of Trusina did not attract the attention of the media. In the cold winter that the meteorologists have forecast, it will be difficult to find the routes through which humanitarian aid can be delivered to the surrounded Croat enclaves to save the remaining Croats from extinction. In these conditions, the Croats in Sarajevo and Tuzla may survive, though it may be too late for Vares.

Karlovac Cease-Fire 'Seems To Be Holding'

LD1611101793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0903 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] The UN-brokered local cease-fire in Karlovac area, which came into effect at noon on Monday, seems to be holding. There were no reports of any provocations along the demarcation lines yesterday or overnight, so the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] checkpoint in Turanj may be reopened again today for the delivery of humanitarian aid to the occupied area and commercial shipments to western Bosnia.

Paspalj Opposes Local Peace Accords

AU1511172293 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 93 p 12

[Report by Branislav Radivojsa: "Tudjman Is Not the Same As Abdic"]

[Text] After unsuccessful attempts to adopt global peace agreements, has the time come for regional cease-fires?

This question arises after the signing of two such regional agreements and the mention of more.

This new practice has been heralded above all by the political phenomenon of Fikret Abdic and the autonomous province of western Bosnia. Abdic's dissimilarity to Alija Izetbegovic and his interest in peace have created conditions for establishing quite new relations between the republic of Srpska and western Bosnia. What is happening in this region between the Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian sides was the occasion for Dr. Nikola Koljevic [leading Bosnian Serb] recently to tell POLITIKA that, in the absence of comprehensive solutions, the Serbs will insist on such peace agreements with representatives of other regions too. It is possible to achieve peace in a roundabout way, through talks with those who are interested in this and who are not controlled by the belligerent Izetbegovic.

The second regional agreement was signed last Thursday [3 November] and came into effect at noon on Sunday. This involves an agreement between the Army of the Republic of Croatia and part of the Serbian forces of the republic of Serbian Krajina. Indeed, this involves just an agreement on a cease-fire that was signed for the region of eastern Slavonia and Baranja by General Djuro Decak, commander of the Croatian troops in the Osijek region, and Colonel Bogdan Sladojevic, commander of the Serbian forces in eastern Slavonia and Baranja.

How was it possible to sign this regional agreement when only a few days earlier an attempt to sign an agreement by delegations from the Republic of Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina had failed in Norway? Does that mean that the Krajina and Croatia are moving toward a tactic similar to that already seen in relations between the Serbian side and Fikret Abdic?

It is interesting that there are certain differing assessments of this in the republic of Serbian Krajina leadership. Mile Paspalj, president of the assembly of Krajina, says:

"It is good to resort to a peace agreement, but the question arises as to whether we will in this way succumb to Tudjman's aspiration to split us up. This is because Croatia is interested in peace agreements where it does not have forces to attack, while in other regions, where we have been weakened, they are committing the most horrific crimes. I can therefore recall the stand from the platform that was adopted by the republic of Serbian Krajina's assembly, as the highest authority, that we are in favor of peace being achieved and an end to hostilities, but on condition that Croatia withdraws from all the territories that it took by force. This is why I do not understand these actions regarding certain regions," Paspalj told us, adding that nevertheless he is above all in favor of peace too.

Does this mean that the president of the assembly did not know about the signing of the agreement for eastern Slavonia? Paspalj replied: Exactly. In response to the question of whether Goran Hadzic, president of the republic, was the initiator of this truce, Paspalj said that he was yet to be informed about that....

"For me no agreement is valid that does not also include the withdrawal of Croatian forces from Lika, Banija, and Kordun, as well as the settlement of the problems of the Serbian population in western Slavonia, who have been left completely homeless."

How does the president of the Krajina assembly explain that the Serbs in the Serbian republic not only do not have the reservations that he has been expressing, but are actually insisting on these regional agreements?

"The difference lies in the fact that the leadership of the Serbian republic has come across a man with whom it will sign a truce within one part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Fikret Abdic. Therefore, this agreement was not signed by the Banja Luka region (like our eastern Slavonia) but by the state leadership of the Serbian republic. We would also have to act from the state level and not from the level of individual regions. The Muslim side has also agreed to a partial agreement because it is involved in mutual conflicts but we have to act in a united way," Mile Paspalj told us.

It is interesting that in response to our question of whether he welcomed yet another regional cease-fire agreement, Admiral Dusan Rakic, defense minister in the Krajina government, immediately said:

"Peace is good everywhere but there cannot be a peaceful agreement anywhere where the Croats have taken our territories. Therefore there cannot even be a global agreement without Croatia abandoning the regions that it took by force."

Krajina Chiefs Condemn Seselj's 'Criminal' Behavior

AU1511213593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Here is the joint public statement issued by the leaders of the republic of Serbian Krajina: President Goran Hadzic, Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic, Brigadier General Mile Novakovic, commander of the Staff of the Army of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Milan Martic, minister of the interior of the republic of Serbian Krajina. The statement reads as follows:

We consider it to be our moral obligation to most harshly condemn the behavior of Vojislav Seselj. As of the moment when he set off into the mindless struggle for power, he trample over all the interests of the Serbian people. His behavior is criminal and dishonest. He turned even against members of his own party who participated in the defense of the Serbian people as volunteers. He used the honest name of volunteer as a guise for defending criminals who acted against the law.

He obviously sided with criminals all the time invoking the interests of the defense of the Serbhood. Such a defense of Serbhood is a great shame and such people like Seselj, who are rallying all kinds of scum around themselves, are not defending Serbhood but defending their own positions and representing a great shame for all those people on whose behalf they speak.

In the republic of Serbian Krajina he was directly involved in creating a rift among the leaders of the republic of Serbian Krajina calling on one side to act against the others, something from which only Ustashas can profit.

Attacks against President Milosevic who enjoys our great and unilateral respect have completely discredited Seselj in the eyes of every honest man in the republic of Serbian Krajina. His further presence on the political scene is a great evil and shame for our people. This is said in the public statement signed by president of the republic of Serbian Krajina Goran Hadzic, Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic, Brigadier General Mile Novakovic, commander of the staff of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and Milan Martic, minister of the interior of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Croatian Embassy Protests Andreatta's Statement

LD1511180893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] The [Croatian] HINA news agency has learned that the Croatian embassy in Rome will lodge a protest with Farnesina, the seat of the Italian Foreign Ministry, over Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta's statement that sanctions should also be imposed against Croatia, that the so-called Krajinas in Croatia ought to be included in possible territorial exchanges, and that it is not clear whether the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia is a positive or negative development.

The Croatian embassy's charge d'affaires, Zeljko Balosic, will request an audience at Farnesina today and hand in the protest against Andreatta's statement. The protest is being lodged against three assertions made by Andreatta—that it is not correct to have sanctions imposed only against the Serbs, that the territorial exchanges should include the so-called Krajinas in the Republic of Croatia, and that it is not known whether the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia was a good or a bad thing.

The embassy underlined that Croatia was the first to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it does not interfere in its internal affairs, that it repeatedly condemned all the crimes committed on the territory of former Yugoslavia, that it energetically demanded that their perpetrators be punished, regardless of their nationality, religion, or the side they are on. Generalizations such as the assertion that the Croats had committed the massacre in Stupni Do are unacceptable, it is said in the protest.

Croatia had accepted the UN Security Council's resolutions and is in favor of their implementation on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia. It is energetically opposed to all armed conflicts, and the Muslim offensive in Bosnia-Herzegovina, if it is not effectively stopped at once, will result in a dangerous escalation of armed clashes.

A strong peace initiative should be launched by all the elements in the international organization, and we wish the Italian Government to be actively involved in this respect.

Concerning the problem of the so-called Krajinas, Croatia energetically protests against any speculations regarding its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Croatia is endeavoring to contribute to the ending of the conflict in Bosnia. President Franjo Tudjman's peace initiative attests to this, and it would be useful if the representatives of the Republic of Italy kept those proposals in mind at the European Union's ministerial meeting on 22 November in Luxembourg.

The members of the international community bear a lion's share of the responsibility for the tragic events in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of the ineffectiveness of the actions they had undertaken and because of their passivity and hesitation. As a politically and economically influential country, Italy could contribute to the ending of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Croatia expects this of neighboring and friendly Italy, it is concluded in the Croatian embassy's protest.

Nuclear Plant 'Stumbling Block' With Slovenia

AU1611111993 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 93 p 11

[Report by Zeljko Buksa, Zagreb; date not given: "Are all the Atoms Slovene?"]

[Text] It seems that the Krsko nuclear power plant has become the main stumbling block in the Croatian-Slovene relations, as there is an increasing impression that the Slovenes would like it best if they could take over the entire plant, despite the fact that Croatia is an equal joint owner.

"This is what the statement of Boris Sovic, the state secretary for energy and industry of Slovenia, indicates. He told me that they would like to take over the entire plant and then sell electricity to Croatia," said Vladimir Kramberger, assistant to the Croatian minister of economy for issues related to electric power industry.

"I replied that there were two ways to do it," continued Kramberger. "The first possibility is that they take the plant away from us by force, as the Serbs did during the war, which would cause an interstate dispute and international arbitration. Moreover, Croatia could in that case for instance appropriate the Slovene weekend houses and holiday resorts in Croatia, and charge the Slovenes for accommodation. The other possibility is to discuss everything and try to find a solution that would satisfy everybody. Our impression is, however, that they will not try and take over the plant directly, but through new Slovene laws."

As an example of this, he mentioned the Law on the Employment of Foreigners, in accordance with which 21 Croatian workers employed at the plant were recently dismissed. The Slovenes explained that they were mostly drivers and janitors, and that the parity agreement concerning all the important jobs in the Krsko nuclear power plant was thus not violated. However, Kramberger said that the out of the 20 people who retired in the past two years, 13 had professional skills, and all of them were replaced by Slovenes instead of Croatians, which is an instance of violating the parity agreement after all.

The Croatian Electric Power Industry has offered to employ the 21 dismissed workers despite the fact that they had not worked for them. The Croatian Government is still asking the Slovene Government to take these employees back, but they claim they were told that they would still be fired some other way.

According to Kramberger's statement, the Slovene demands that Croatia reduce its debts to the nuclear power plant at least to the level of the Slovene ones if it wants to have half the electricity from Krsko in the future, are also out of place.

"The Slovenes seem to have forgotten that, at the moment Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, they owed 54.7 million German marks to the plant, while our debt was 38.7 million. If they do not observe the existing interrepublic agreements on Krsko, then we do not have to recognize the debt inherited from the former Yugoslavia, from which it follows that Croatia owes the plant nothing. Moreover, the Slovenes have the same attitude toward the huge debts of the Ljubljanska Banka [the Bank of Ljubljana] to Croatian depositors, the solution to which needs to be found within the matters concerning the succession of the former Yugoslavia," explained Kramberger.

Mr. Kramberger does not agree with the frequent warnings that, due to the failure to pay the Slovene and Croatian debts to the plant, its safety could be at stake. His opinion is that the debts of 68 million German marks, which is the amount that the plant had borrowed from the Ljubljanska Banka through unfavorable short-term loans, and thus provided the bank with a good deal, are not too great for a power plant that is worth some 3 billion German marks. In the past several years the debts used to rise up to 100 million German marks, and the Slovenes would not mention safety at work then, remarked Kramberger.

For instance, at the time that Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, the total debts amounted to some 95 million German marks, the greater part of which was Slovene debt, but at the time no one mentioned the bankruptcy of the plant, or the possibility that it might be closed down for safety reasons, Kramberger recalled. This is why he interprets all the recent Slovene moves concerning the plant as the result of the wish of the Slovenes to gradually push out the Croatian partners and take over the valuable plant.

In spite of everything, Mr. Kramberger said that Croatia continues to pay Krsko some 300,000 German marks per day for running costs, while the difference between the Slovene and Croatian debt was in the meantime reduced to less than 10 million German marks, as Croatia reduced its debt by 2 million German marks, thus showing that it does not want unargumented discussions, but a jointly based conversation on joint problems.

Serbia

Commentary Analzes Milosevic 'Tirade'

AU1611111593 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA [Supplement] in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Nov 93 p 2

[Commentary by Djoko Kesic: "All the Presidents' Editors"]

[Text] Unverified evidence shows that an academy member, Djuro Kurepa, died after being beaten up by two young men who also seized his worthless pension. The official investigation will establish nothing, we are used to that, which leads us quite certainly to the conclusion that Professor Kurepa lost his life in vain. His name is respected at all international universities. He was least known in Belgrade. The investigation will not, of course, establish—and we do not even expect it to—that Djuro Kurepa died from the serious bodily harm that has been inflicted on his nation under socialist rule.

The virus of this new writing has even reached those who are biologically and mentally opposite to Professor Kurepa [sentence as published]. A certain Bozidar Savkovic, a wretched admirer of [former owner of Dafiment private bank, now proprietor of beauty parlor] Mrs. Dafina Milanovic's interests (the love cost 100,000 Swiss francs) tried to set himself on fire near the Serbian Assembly building. But in vain. The man wanted to express in this clear way what we all know, that is, that Mrs. Dafina is synonymous with this government. Mr. Savkovic was wrong [ima krivo—typically Croatian expression used here], as the Croats would have it. A man who earns so much money must realize that no single sum is large enough to satisfy the state and especially the government of this forgotten world. Moreover, if you give your opponent such a great chance while harming yourself, then your death is a quite personal matter.

Were the cause of death and the death attempt not directly linked, it would be distasteful to link these two people. But since we are living in an atmosphere of unnatural relationships, let us agree to link them with something else. The owner of an infection clinic at the end of the world has announced that the virus has been identified and is under control. In order to tell us this news, Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, invited the chief editors of nine newspapers in Serbia, arranged them like sardines in front of the television cameras, generously treated us to several political phrases, which he has been bandying about for the last few years, palatably, absolutely, and self-confidently defending his throne, or at least so he thought.

There are several reasons why one should be grateful to President Milosevic for repeating what has already been repeated. First, it is now much clearer why chief editors are the class enemies of their own and others' journalists. The president wanted to show the public that there is no conflict between him and the press, and that everything (and it literally is everything) that is bad in this country has nothing to do with him or his deeds. The president succeeded and was helped in this by all nine chief editors with their unbelievable servility. Editors realized a long time ago that journalism is a pointless job and therefore became editors and for these reasons plodded through their servile role. The president of Serbia has shown that he possesses an angelic skill in being able constantly to walk through this Balkan mud without even dirtying his shoes. He is totally irreproachable in all this.

The owner of the Socialist Party of Serbia showed us in a scholarly way that all the great difficulties that we are facing are easy to resolve. For example, the chaos in the monetary system could have been completely cured had the governor of the central bank not suddenly fallen ill.

Slobodan Milosevic held his two-hour preelection tirade. This is a familiar story with two new, carefully chosen notes, which will warm the hearts of the impoverished citizens. There will be a revision of all purchases of socially-owned property (as the president says, thefts) and accounts will be uncompromisingly settled with the newly-created businessmen, recognizable by their gold necklaces, bracelets, the seals on the rings on their fingers, and their several automatic weapons. This package also includes the familiar final closure of private banks and currency exchange offices while the clash with the Serbian Chetnik movement is a new defense of socialism along the lines of 1945.

The leader of the Serbian Socialists was very satisfied with the two-hour television program. It was quite clear to him that the Socialists will win the December elections. However, the question is whether they will win as smoothly as he envisages, because with all that was said, the television promotion was more appropriate to December 1992 than today. What the president of the Socialists offered will not be enough for the convincing win that he desires. Therefore, new arguments will be needed. Are surprises possible in this sense? Surprises like certain hints that the Russians are going to allow gas imports to the FRY and that a Canadian airline company will start flying between Toronto and Belgrade on 12 December and thereby virtually lift the embargo on international transport with the FRY. The tickets are supposedly on sale in Canada. Such surprises are essential for the kind of victory that Milosevic desires.

Kostunica Denounces Sanctions, Discusses Campaign

LD1511195093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Vojislav Kostunica, the leader of the opposition Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), said on Monday [15 November] that the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is not solely linked to the nature of the regime in Serbia.

'The sanctions are a method of pressure and are aimed against the Serbian people,' Kostunica said at the panel 'TANJUG's Guest' and added he is certain that the sanctions will not be lifted even if the opposition were to win at the early parliamentary elections scheduled for December 19.

The DSS leader said that the lifting of the sanctions and the international recognition of Yugoslavia 'are preconditions for good negotiations' without which some practical questions in Serbia cannot be resolved, such as the question of Serbia's southern Kosovo province and that of the national minorities.

Over the past twenty years, a strong separatist ethnic Albanian movement has been active in Kosovo demanding the province's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and its annexation to neighbouring Albania.

DSS advocates the creation of a truely democratic Serbian state, first within the current joint federation of Serbia and Montenegro and, its subsequent expansion into a state where all national minorities would have the usual rights, Kostunica said.

Kostunica said he believes that a solution to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in a confederation and that the Serbs in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), in the territory of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia, are entitled to self-determination and that the issue of Kosovo should be resolved through talks.

Announcing that his party begins its election campaign on Wednesday [17 November], Kostunica said that DSS will most probably independently run at the elections but that it is open to post-election coalition proposals from all parties, with the exception of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

In the previous parliament, DSS had deputies within the Depos group of opposition parties in which Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) is the major party.

Government Pledges To Assist UNICEF Envoy

LD1511164293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 15 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Monday [15 November] pledged assistance to a special envoy of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), renowned British actress Vanessa Redgrave, for a humanitarian event planned to take place in Belgrade in mid-December.

In a meeting with Serbian culture and information ministers, Djoko Stojicic and Milivoje Pavlovic, Redgrave explained the event had been conceived on somewhat different lines than had been usual for UNICEF galas.

According to Redgrave, the event in Belgrade should draw the world's attention to the plight of the children in Serbia and its parent Yugoslavia caused by international sanctions.

The idea is to have children refugees from war-torn areas of former Yugoslavia in the audience, she explained.

The British actress said that several internationally acclaimed personalities from Great Britain, the United States, Russia, Greece and some other countries had responded to UNICEF's appeal to place their art in the service of humanity and help the suffering Yugoslav children.

The hosts expressed their gratitute to Ms Redgrave for calling the attention of the world to the suffering of children in the war in former Yugoslavia.

The event, which will be televised and broadcast on radio waves, will be sponsored by the Yugoslav Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO, says a statement released by the Serbian Information Ministry.

Macedonia

Government Wins Parliamentary Confidence Vote

LD1611094693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Macedonian Parliament today voted confidence in the government of Branko Crvenkovski, with 71 votes in favor and 37 against.

The one-day confidence debate in the government ended last night. The voting took place at midnight. The government received a vote of confidence by the deputies of the Macedonian-Albanian coalition parties, the Social-Democratic Alliance (former communists), the Liberal Party, and [Albanian] Party For Democratic Prosperity.

The deputies of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE], who initiated the question of confidence, and deputies of some smaller parties and some independent deputies voted against the government.

Georgievski Condemns Government

LD1511205293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1956 GMT 15 Nov 93

[Text] Skopje, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic did not force the Albanians to illegally bring large amounts of weapons into Macedonia, nor to form paramilitary formations, just as he did not force the Albanian Government to work on destabilizing this state together with the Albanian separatists [within Macedonia], the leader of VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic

Party of Macedonian National Unity], Ljupco Georgievski, said at the extraordinary session of the [Macedonian] parliament, which is discussing confidence in the Branko Crvenkovski Government.

Speaking about the Albanian separatists' conspiracy, Georgievski said that he was aware that the discovery of hostile Albanian activities in Macedonia was playing into the hands of some Balkan countries which claim that the Albanians in Macedonia and their mother country Albania are working on destabilizing Macedonia, but he did not have the right to keep silent about anti-Macedonian activities.

Georgievski condemned the BJRM [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Government in sharpest terms for concealing the facts relating to the affair from the people and for covering up the case in order to keep themselves in power.

Georgievski particularly accused the leading Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity of working to destabilize Macedonia.

At the end of its session today the parliament is due to vote on the confidence in the Branko Crvenkovski Government.

Frckovski Statement on Paramilitary Formations

AU1511172093 Skopje MIC in English 14 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Frckovski: There Is No Proof of the Involvement of PDP"]

[Text] On the occasion of the article published in PULS, the Macedonian Minister of the Interior Ljubomir Frckovski gave the following statement for MIC:

"It is important to emphasize that in this entire affair, the matter of the issue is only the attempt to organize paramilitary units, under the name 'All-Albanian army.' We had been closely following the entire activities of the group of arrested people for a longer period of time and the possibility of their activities gaining uncontrollable dimensions was excluded. The Interior Ministry has no evidence that PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], as a party, or functionaries from the leadership of this party, are involved in the activities or organization of the group. Also, we have no information that any members of the government from this party are in any way involved in the attempt to organize paramilitary formations.

"According to the evidence we have, the channel for the supply of the weapons came from the Republic of Albania. There are indications that one or two of the people arrested had connections with the departments of a neighboring country, but the details regarding those contacts will be determined in an investigating court procedure which is in progress," said the Minister of the Interior for MIC.

Minister Claims Prior Knowledge

AU1511172193 Skopje MIC in English 12 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Minister of Defense Popovski: 'I Knew About Haskaj'"]

[Text] Following his return from the official visit to Turkey, Macedonia's Defense Minister Popovski told the Macedonian Radio yesterday that he had knowledge of the subversive activities of the Assistant Minister Husein Haskaj.

Popovski stated: "I was introduced with the documentation and findings of the Ministry of the Interior. At a meeting of the government, which was also attended by the Albanian ministers, representatives of the Albanian parliamentary group and members of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] Presidency, both sides concluded that it was a group of people, among whom is also Husein Haskaj. Their activities were subversive, and the group did not reflect the political position of the Albanians toward the Macedonians or Macedonia as a state. This group, it was concluded, does not reflect the policy of the Albanian parties in Macedonia, and efforts should be made to increase the mutual trust."

Minister Popovski said that the vacant position of assistant minister will be immediately filled by a representative of the party PDP, as a coalition partner in the government.

PDP Official Denies Knowledge

AU1511171993 Skopje MIC in English 14 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Emini: The Text in PULS Does Not Deserve Any Comment!]

[Text] In reference to the article which appeared in PULS, MIC asked for a statement from Mithat Emini, until recently the secretary general of PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], for who it is implied in the article as being involved in the organization of the paramilitary formations.

This is the first time I've heard about the 'scenario' written in PULS and the first time I ever heard about the entire paramilitary group was when their arrest was announced, Emini stated for MIC.

"The public was informed by the most competent state organs that the party PDP and its leadership do not have any connection with the activities of the group of arrested people." Therefore, Emini said, the article published in PULS deserves absolutely no comment!

Imeri Reportedly Sought Asylum at German Consulate

AU1511213793 Skopje MIC in English 12 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Where is Imer Imeri"]

[Text] The Deputy Minister of Health Imer Imeri, who according to some sources, was involved in the arms smuggling affair and the organization of paramilitary formations in Macedonia, has mysteriously disappeared.

Imer Imeri has not turned up at work at the Ministry for already a couple of days, and unofficial sources say he has applied for political asylum at the German Consulate in Skopje and is now in hiding.

The weekly PULS speculates today that Imeri also applied for protection from the Turkish Embassy, however, the ambassador Suha Nojan categorically denied this information to MIC. Nojan said he did not even know Imer, that he had never even been at the Turkish Embassy, nor that he could possibly know where he was.

The German Consul General Hans Lothar Steppan confirmed to MIC of having spoken with Imeri at the Consulate, however, refused to comment the purpose of the visit of this government official, and whether the visit was of a private or official nature.

"Our Consulate is visited by hundreds of Macedonian citizens, ministers and other government officials. We have not received a formal request for political asylum from Mr. Imeri, nor a request for visa."

The Macedonia press speculates today that Imeri was involved in this affair by putting aside part of the humanitarian aid for Macedonia, the so-called "field hospitals" for the needs of the paramilitary formations.

As a reminder, at the recent press conference, Ljubomir Frckovski, the minister of the interior explained that there was no evidence of the involvement of any other government official in this affair besides the Assistant Minister Husein Haskaj.

The prominent KATIMERINI writes that Macedonia is on the brink of a civil war, and that the recent events present a particularly dangerous turning point, bringing the entire southern Balkan regions on the threshold of war. The scenario for the spreading of the Yugoslav war to the south, is not a possibility any longer, but an imminent and frightening reality.

Negotiations With Greece Not 'Exhausted'

AU1611080893 Skopje MIC in English 12 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Ivan Tosevski: The Negotiations Are Necessary"]

[Text] Ivan Tosevski, member of the Macedonian negotiating team in the negotiations with Greece, gave an interview for the weekly PULS.

In response to the journalists' question as to what he expected from the negotiations, in view of the fact that Papandreou had clearly stated that they were practically over and that the topic had been exhausted, Mr. Tosevski said:

"First, we must see how the problems over the differences will be settled. I would not say that those negotiations are exhausted, that they are over and have not sense. Therefore, we still insist that they continue, that is, that nay problems between the two countries can be solved only with negotiations, without any dictations, blackmail, or other means outside the negotiating process."

Further in the interview, Tosevski says that "the negotiations are in the interest of both sides. We are for both sides to gain, not for Greece to loose."

At the end of the interview, Tosevski says that he is not sure that the cancellation of the negotiations is in Greece's interest. "This means that they are intentionally pushing the matter into waters in which neither we, nor they can swim.

Certainly, the events must be viewed as they are, or as they appear, however, it should not be forgotten that the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of their nationally, must receive the same treatment for the good deeds, and for the situations when they come into conflict with the legal norms.

Every attempt to present the arrest of the Albanians in Macedonia as an exclusive case will be harmful to the Republic, therefore, in situations such as this, the matters must be judged by the same standards, without a tendency to dramatize."

PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] protested why some of the people arrested were not allowed legal defense before the investigating organs, contrary to their legal rights. This party repeated that it will constantly insist on its program determinations and realize them through political, parliamentary, and institutional means.

In the statement for the Macedonian Radio, the investigating judge handling the case denied that the accused eight Albanians did not have legal defense, and state that all of the accused have their own lawyers.

Montenegro

Oct Inflation Rate Over 2,500 Percent

LD1611111893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 16 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Podgorica, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Monthly inflation in Montenegro rose above 2,500 percent in October, which is an unprecedented, inglorious record in the republic. [passage omitted]

The hyperinflation in the last 12 months brought retail prices in October this year to a level which is 2.29-billion-percent higher than in the same month last year.